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ADVENTURES

GIOVANNI FINATI.

NARRATIVE
LIFE AND ADVENTURES
OF
GIOVANNI FINATI,

NATIVE OF FERRARA;

WHO, UNDER THE ASSUMED NAME OF MAHOMET,
MADE THE CAMPAIGNS AGAINST
THE WABADEES FOR THE RECOVERY OF MECCA AND MEDINA ;

SINCE ACTED AS INTERPRETER
TO EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS IN SOME OF THE PARTS
LEAST VISITED IN ASIA AND AFRICA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN' AS DICTATED BY HIMSELF,

AND EDITED BY

WILLIAM JOHN BANKES, Esq.

TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO
WILLIAM JOHN BANKES, Esq.

BY
ATTACHED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

HADJEE MAHOMET.

November, 1826,

VOL. I.

THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE author of this little narrative has given in it so circumstantial an account of himself, that there seems to be no occasion for my saying anything, in order to make the reader better acquainted with him. But it may be satisfactory to state, that, as I bore part myself in a considerable portion of the travels, and in many of the incidents which he relates, I can give testimony so far to his truth and fidelity ; and therefore feel little

doubt that those gentlemen whom he speaks of having accompanied in other journies and adventures will find him equally accurate, where those ■■■ described. Of the remainder, I can recollect to have heard long ago from his ■■■ mouth, during the period that he was with me, many of the most remarkable particulars, detailed just in the ■■■ here given: and, whilst I cannot but feel surprised at his memory, which was ■■■ assisted by ■ reference to any book, or consultation of any map whatever, for the purpose of refreshing it, it affords a strong proof of its correctness, that, upon a comparison

of his account of the Wahabee with that of Monsieur Mengin (which, though rather a dry work*, have been compiled with great industry at Cairo), only such occasional variations in circumstances and details will be found, might be expected between the personal recollections of an eye-witness, and a chronicle collected and digested from various sources; the principal events, and the order of them, as well geographically in point of time, being

* Published 1823, "l'Egypte sous le Gouvernement de Mahomet Ali," 2 vols., 8vo. The author, Mengin, had remained in that country from the time the French Expedition, as appears by his preface.

for the most part the [redacted] in both, so that they materially confirm one another, taking only into account, in the [redacted] of places, the widely different spelling between a Frenchman and an Italian. An equally satisfactory concurrence is the general result of confronting the description here given of Mecca with that of Ali Bey*;

* Ali Bey [redacted] a Spaniard from Catalonia, of the [redacted] of Badia: I found some particulars among [redacted] original papers, to which I had [redacted] at Constantinople, which induced me to suspect him to [redacted] been secretly brought up as a Jew, but [redacted] have in [redacted] possession authentic proof of his having [redacted] employed by [redacted] French government as a spy, in the original draught in his own handwriting of a memorial [redacted] Bonaparte, reciting [redacted] services and claiming his reward. His papers prove him to have been a man of indefatigable

the trifling points of ceremonial which do not exactly coincide being doubt-

industry, and of very previous knowledge; and I have heard from those who conversed with him in the East, that he spoke Arabic very imperfectly. Of his want of historical information the reader will form a judgment when he reads in page 100 of Vol. i., he evidently supposes Catharine II. to have been widow of Peter the Great! Ali Bey returned into the East a short time before I quitted it, with the intention of penetrating in some direction from Damascus, but there he in that neighbourhood died soon afterwards, as it was thought, by poison.

It is not from any preference to these two writers, above many others, that I have compared and cited them, but because they write about the same countries and often the very same persons and events near the same period. I have pointed out where they differ from each other;—Ali Bey seems to have been a man of more industry than intelligence, more vanity than either; and Mengin certainly opportunities of being better informed than

ascribable to the temporary
 cendant there of the Wahabees,
 the period of Ali Bey's visit. With
 witnesses unexceptionable, there-
 fore, in its favour, entitled to
 consider the veracity of the narrative
 established beyond all dispute.

It was the recollection of those anec-
 dotes which I had heard from him,
 coupled with the agreeable retrospect

he seems to have been upon points, as will
 appear here and there in the notes.

Had Burckhardt's details respecting
 been published the time when I was occupied
 chapter, I certainly
 preferred his authority to Ali Bey's, both from the
 qualifications of writer,
 there is a still closer coincidence in point of time.

of what ■ had seen together, that made ■ think such ■ memoir might prove interesting, and first induced ■ to suggest it to him, in this country. ■ long disuse, however, of European writing (an accomplishment in which he had, perhaps, ■ been a brilliant proficient) had made him very slow with his pen, and rendered it probable that he would ■ abandon the attempt, if he took the whole labour upon himself, which was my motive for recommending that he should rather dictate, than endeavour to put his story to paper with his own hand, an expedient likely also to lead ■ a

simpler and more natural form of narration. By good fortune, he met with a person in London who seems to have been well qualified for the task, and brought the whole to me within a few weeks, contained in twelve little copy-books, of which the style in the original is easy and unaffected, and (so far as I venture to judge in a foreign language) the Italian not inelegant.

I had never seen the work during its progress, but found so much amusement in reading it, and apparently so few errors, that I promised to undertake the translation, and to prepare it for the press.

But the time fixed for his departure from England would not admit of the whole being completed, I applied myself, in the first instance, to the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth books, (or chapters, I have called them,) and read them over to him in English, that those have the benefit of his corrections: for I felt that there would be much less risk of misapprehension or mistake in others, where the facts and geography were familiar to me, than in those where I was quite a stranger, and which I was yet the more anxious to render accurately in all the details of circumstance and place, from consi-

dering the whole account of the war contained in them as **one** of the most curious portions of his history. Several of the other chapters **were** also nearly finished before he set out, and he had read over the whole to **me** in the original, that I might take down, from his mouth, such explanations as seemed necessary; and his **answers** to such queries as I had already noted, where the sense was obscure, **was** where by transposition the **expression** might be improved.

These variations **were** incorporated into the text, and, at my **suggestion** also, some passages that

seemed a little tedious ■■■ abridged, and here and there some few expressions relating to myself, which it might give him pleasure to employ, but which it would not become me to render, I have wholly omitted.

In the remainder, I have endeavoured generally to follow the Italian ■ closely as possible, giving, however, to his geographical recollections, in those countries which ■ traversed together, the full benefit of ■ collation with my journals made ■ the spot, and adding a few notes wherever they suggested themselves ■ necessary.

The work itself, from its very varied nature, ■ hardly fail to prove entertaining, ■ to the general reader, but will have ■ yet higher value with those who ■ curious in oriental manners, and in modern oriental history, ■ containing some details nowhere else to be met with, ■ least in our language, and on the testimony of ■ eye-witness ■ of the massacre of the Mamelukes by Mahomet Ali, and of his expeditions against the fanatic puritans of Arabia, and into the upper country beyond Dongola. In geography not ■ little will be found that is ■ and interesting, for, though

no scientific accounts [REDACTED] be expected, but only such [REDACTED] plain [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] and observation [REDACTED] give, yet when it is [REDACTED] that he made the circuit of the Dead Sea; that he penetrated to the great Oasis; that he accompanied Monsieur Linant in his search for the ancient Meroë, and beyond Sennaar; that he has reached [REDACTED] passed the second cataract of the Nile seven several times; that he has visited both Mecca and Medina, and places lower down [REDACTED] the very borders of Yemen, and Jerusalem frequently; that Petra, and Palmyra, and all the country beyond Jordan, are among the [REDACTED] of his [REDACTED]

tive,—it will be admitted that he has been ■ traveller to ■ ordinary extent; and, possibly, that there is not any one living who has ■ altogether ■ much. But it is at this peculiar time, when the attention and curiosity of all Europe is particularly directed towards the East, that the details of Mahommedan warfare, and the life of a soldier in the Mahommedan service, may seem to acquire a sort of political, as well ■ historical interest.

It only remains for ■ to mention that, after ■ stay of about two years in this country, the author, prompted

by that cheerful and lively, but rather restless, temper, which will, I think, be discerned in his work, returned to seek fresh adventures in the East, with Lord Prudhoe, who has engaged him during his travels as his interpreter.

1828.

POSTSCRIPT, 1829.

LORD PRUDHOE, upon his return to this country, after a most interesting and extensive tour in the East, has left Mahomet once more established at Cairo; and should the steam navigation to and from India by the Red Sea produce those facilities of intercourse that have been expected, it has been recommended to him to establish and superintend a small hotel for the accommodation of European passengers.

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THE
LIFE AND ADVENTURES
OF
GIOVANNI FINATI.

CHAPTER I.

Author's Parentage—Education—Conscription—
First and Second Desertion—Recapture—Imprison-
ment—Voyage to Dalmatia—Sea Storm—the Mon-
tenegrini—Flight into Albania, and Adventures
—Embarkation—and Passage to Alexandria.

THE lives of men, neither distin-
guished for worldly advantages, emi-
nent talents, may yet, from singular turns
of fortune, and by the association of
remarkable places events with their

story, supply such a ■■■■ of amusement, and even instruction, as can hardly be looked for in those of ■ ■■■■ uniform tenor.

My own life may perhaps appear to be of this number. In publishing it ■ the world, let me hope that I shall not be suspected of assuming to myself any of the requisite qualifications of an author, beyond that of speaking the truth: what has happened to myself, and what I have ■■■■ with my own eyes, that I shall endeavour ■■ relate; but ■■ fully ■■■■ that the same incidents, and the ■■■■ scenes, had they fallen in the way of one possessed of more knowledge and information than I am, might have furnished ■ work of ■ very different description from any that ■ can pretend to offer.

My name is Giovanni Finati; I was born a subject of the pontifical states, at Ferrara, not indeed of rich, but of respectable, parents; my father had a small landed property with a house upon it, at Zello, on the river Tartaro; and he had another house belonging to him at Trecenta, so that his income was sufficient for the decent maintenance of a limited family. He was tenderly attached to my mother, and I was the eldest of their four children.

I will take up no further time in enlarging upon family details, but pass now once to what concerned myself and my own adventures.

So soon as I was ten years old, my parents decided upon the profession which I was to follow, and this, as is but too often the case, without looking at all to the

bent of my natural disposition ■ inclinations.

For I ■ an uncle, my father's brother, who ■ in the church, ■ very sincere and excellent man, but extremely bigoted ; and, ■ it ■ decided that I should be trained up to the ■ vocation, I ■ in a manner made ■ ■ him, and my education committed entirely to his ■ It ■ to ■ purpose that I had conceived, from my very earliest years, the strongest repugnance to that mode of life, and to the society and habits of priests and ecclesiastics of ■ sorta, since those who had the control ■ remaining fixed in their determination, there was no help for it, ■ I could do no otherwise than submit ; yet my distaste was every day increased by the pains that my uncle bestowed ■

instruct me in all that course of frivolous and empty ceremonials and mysteries, which form a principal feature in the training up of a priest for the Romish church.

All the powers of entreaty were exhausted; I had no hope of escape, and finding that severity and punishment were all that I gained by resistance, I passed several years in a state of sullen conformity to my uncle's wishes.

At last, just as I had completed my eighteenth year, a very different [REDACTED] of life unexpectedly opened upon [REDACTED]

Italy had fallen into the power of the

■ Sir Walter Scott says, "The northern ■■■■ of Italy ■■■■ followed ■■■■ example of France through ■■■■ her change of models: they had become republican in a directorial form, when Napoleon's sword conquered ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ Austrians; ■■■■ changed ■■■■ establishment

French, for though it was still nominally independent, and retained the form of a government of its own, yet it was in fact become no better than a province.

The people felt most acutely both the weight and the humiliation of this foreign yoke, yet at the same time knew that they had no power of shaking it off. In no point did it press upon them more heavily than in the continual conscriptions, for no son grown to be of an age to assist his parents, and to contribute to their support, than he was forcibly torn from them, and sent off into the most distant countries, at the will of Buonaparte,

similar to the consular, when that was instituted in Paris."—*Life of Buonaparte*, vol. I. The beginning of 1805 seems to be the period referred to: it cannot possibly be later than April, since Napoleon was crowned king of Italy in that month.

who now reigned as ■■■■ over almost all Europe.

My father and mother, who were people of domestic and devout habits, received with horror the intelligence that my name appeared in the list of conscripts: there seemed to be ■■ end at once of that religious scheme of life which they had been laying ■■ for me from my infancy, and I was, in all human probability, to be lost to them for ever; they pictured to themselves and to ■■ all the miseries, and dangers, and disasters to which I should be exposed, and determined, therefore, on making any sacrifices in order to keep ■■ ■■ home.

No representation ■■■ left untried with those in authority, but ■■■ ■■ sufficient ■■ get ■■ exempted.

At last, the [] that could be obtained, was, that I might be permitted [] provide [] substitute ; but even to this [] annexed the condition, that in [] of his desertion, I [] again [] forward, and make good his place in the ranks.

My father found means [] pay the price that was required, and was well content to retain [] upon those terms ; but from that time he never ceased urging me to think seriously of entering at once upon that profession which he had chalked out for me, and which would furnish the only exemption from [] continual liability [] the calls of this conscript army.

Though [] felt in me but little disposition [] calling towards that way of life which [] so fervently pressed upon me, yet I entertained his propositions, [] least to

appearance, lest I should seem to be ungrateful for his kindness.

The substitute was provided, and marched off ■■■■ required by his regiment, and I remained quietly in the bosom of my family, always, however, under the strict superintendence of my uncle, the priest.

Five months were soon passed; and we ■■■■ far advanced into the year 1805, when the news came, that the substitute who had been provided in my stead had deserted.

This ■■■■ a terrible blow to my poor father, and I could read ■ once in his eyes that he looked upon ■ from that ■■■■ a ■■■■ that ■■■■ lost ■ him for ever.

No sooner was the fact certified to the military commandant, than the regular warrant under the conscription **was** issued against me, and the most diligent search commenced; but I **was** nowhere **to be** found; for, feeling an abhorrence to this compulsory mode of service, I had, by my father's wish and connivance, on the very first intimation, withdrawn secretly from the house, and was lurking in different hiding-places of the neighbourhood, both day **and** night.

When the government **learned** that all attempts to find **me** **were** ineffectual, measures **were** taken for driving my family, by persecution, to deliver me up.

The first which was resorted to, **was** the quartering of troops upon our house,

whose number ■ augmented every day, for the purpose of completely exhausting it, ■ reducing it to poverty.

But my father's firmness ■ such, that he submitted to this without a murmur, thinking that the government might be wearied out, and would, perhaps, desist, when the ■ were found to fail of their object; but he was mistaken, and exasperation ■ the only consequence.

Accordingly, my father and my younger brother ■ seized, and thrown into prison, where they were debarred from all communication; the property ■ confiscated; and I thus saw the utter ruin of my whole family ■ become inevitable, ■ I ■ not, of my own act, go and deliver myself up ■ the authorities.

Besides the call of duty, which seemed

in ■■■ case to be imperative upon me, two considerations served ■ little to confirm and console ■■ in taking the step; the one, that if I disliked the profession (under the circumstances) in which ■ ■■■ about to embark, I disliked equally, ■■ least, if ■■■ more, that which had been designed for me ■ home, and which I could no longer in decency or in gratitude have declined; and then again, as ■ was going to ■■■ by compulsion, I should feel bound ■ that service by no ties of honour or conscience, and who could say how ■■■ some opportunity for desertion and escape might not present itself?

These several reflections and motives had all of them their weight with ■■ in turn, and I therefore made up my mind to ■ voluntary surrender.

My appearance had the immediate effect

of setting free my father and brother, and of releasing the property from sequestration.

I myself ■ sent to the military depôt, with the strictest orders that ■ intercourse ■ communication should be permitted with my family; and after five days of close confinement there, ■ marched off with the other fresh conscripts, without being even indulged with the melancholy satisfaction of ■ farewell.

Our destination ■ for Milan, where ■ were to be trained and exercised, and ■ suffered severely during the first days of this march, having been from my childhood but very little accustomed ■ fatigue and hardship; but being young and naturally active, I afterwards found little difficulty ■ learning the duties of ■ soldier, the drill

to which the recruits were subjected proving hardly so ~~much~~ first as I had expected. I belonged to a division of the army which ~~was~~ manœuvred and inspected ~~there~~ in every week, ~~in~~ a large open space at the distance of little less than ~~the~~ Italian miles, and the arms and accoutrements which ~~we~~ were obliged to carry with ~~us~~ weighed seventy-two pounds: this ~~was~~ fatiguing, but I got accustomed to it, as a man becomes inured to almost any thing by habit; but the nature of the life itself was so irksome and intolerable to me, that I ~~was~~ ~~never~~ looking forward to anything else than to the moment which I should seize for withdrawing myself from it.

The year 1806 ~~was~~ drawing towards its close, when ~~we~~ received orders to march for ~~the~~ Tyrol, and we obeyed ~~our~~ instruc-

with so much promptitude and diligence, that, by continual forced marches, very soon reached the place named in instructions.

Here corps took up its quarters for time; and we in a new intricate country, I thought the opportunity a good for effecting my desertion, which I did, not without having turned it over and in my mind, but yet without having formed any settled ulterior plan. This in the last week of that year.

No had I taken the step, than I found that there was neither place person that I could trust by the way; my uniform in itself proof sufficient that I was a deserter, and I was in constant apprehension of falling into the hands of those who would searching after

this made it impossible for me to shew myself by day, but all my nights were passed in traversing the deep forests and wilds of that country.

At the dead of the last of many such nights, I found myself arrived more within the limits of the Ferrarese territory: where the thoughts of being so near to my native home, and to the kind authors of my being, affected me more than I can express, I rested and I found them.

They had been in great grief and perplexity at receiving no tidings from me; and now, upon our meeting, loaded me with every mark of the tenderest affection.

I remained quietly with them some days without the fact of my desertion being known to any body; but so soon as the intelligence of it was received, I

became more my fate to witness the sufferings and persecutions of my family upon my account. The confiscation was renewed, and my younger brother was peremptorily required to be sent to serve in my room: so that everything connected with me, and dearest to me, was thrown into a state of the greatest misery.

I was sorry now for my rashness, though the consequences of a second desertion were so serious that I durst not come forward, but took the utmost pains to elude detection. I concealed myself in places the least frequented of the country round, sometimes lying in the sheepfolds and out-houses, with the animals and cattle, and sometimes in crannies and holes in the earth; so that a life of wretchedness and privation was all that I had gained by my escape.

Time, which discovers everything, last brought to light the place where I was lurking; and there, some soldiers, sent for the purpose, suddenly laid hands on me, and made me their prisoner. I became an object of the utmost military rigour, and, with handcuffs upon me, was dragged or driven through the streets of my native town, where I had been brought up and had lived so respectably, and to which I had returned but so few days before with such feelings of eagerness and attachment.

As my apprehension became known, my father, mother, brother, and sisters, all in the deepest affliction, went to the prison where I was lodged, and visited it with lamentations and regrets. My poor mother, seeing that my hope of having me

with her any more was an end, threw herself on my neck, bathing it with tears, and praying fervently at the same time to the Almighty that he would at least preserve me for better days,—while it plain, both from her words and looks, how fully she was aware that my offence was now capital.

All that day passed miserably—it is possible to conceive, being but one protracted scene of parting; and afterwards, when I was left alone at night, my own feelings and fears returned upon me with fresh bitterness.

On the next morning I was to set out under escort for Milan; whither twenty-two other deserters were dragged besides myself, coupled two and two—a cheerless company, and exposed to every taunt and

by the way that calculated to increase terror. Every night we lodged in the common gaol of the where halted; and so, after much suffering and wretchedness, arrived at our first destination, where we were kept close prisoners, and within a few days off again, each to the division of the army to which he respectively belonged. The regiment from which I had deserted at Venice, and accordingly that the point to which I despatched; and shall I forget the dreadful of suspense under which I made that whole journey, with a mind continually with the awful forebodings. Indeed I hardly say what it was that supported me, harassed thus at once both in body and ; but I have always a natural

sort of elasticity of spirit, which is a great blessing under all circumstances, and which I have never had more occasion for than during the dismal march of which I ■ ■ ■ speaking.

It must have been in the year 1807 that I reached Venice, where it ■ happened that Buonaparte himself, now King of Italy, ■ ■ that time *; and it was, ■ I believe, owing entirely to this circumstance that my worst forebodings were ■ realized, and that my life ■ spared; ■ sort of general act of grace (so far ■ commutation of punishment) being considered a compliment due to the sovereign's presence, that ■ execution might ■ to

■ Bourrienne says, Duroc gave him an account "d'une voyage qu'avait fait Napoléon vers le milieu ■ Novembre, 1807, pour visiter l'état de Venise," &c.: ■ stay, however, must have been very short ■ that city.

damp the general festivity; so that I was subjected to the rigours of military law, as I should otherwise have been.

This seemed to me almost a transition from death to life, and I have looked back since to that epoch as to a kind of second birthday.

It must not, however, be inferred that I escaped punishment altogether, for, on the contrary, it was immediate, though mitigated so far as life was concerned. Early in the morning, all the regiment to which I belonged was paraded; and after my head had been shaven close, in sight of them all, a particular dress, much like those which common convicts wear, was put upon me, and I was loaded, not with heavy chains only, but with a great weight also attached to them, which I

pelled to drag behind, as I was goaded in derision by the subaltern officers along the line, from whence I was conducted back, with every mark of contempt and disgrace, to the barracks, and directed to be lodged there for two months in strict confinement, without being once suffered to go out of them; and during all that time there was no office, the meanest and most laborious, that was thrown upon me, as matter of punishment and degradation.

Meanwhile, Buonaparte had long since been called away to a distance; but orders were, in due season of time, received from him, that all the forces now in Venice should, without delay, be embarked for Dalmatia, and the point fixed for their destination, was Spalatro*, upon the

* The name of Spalatro (so famous for its retirement

finer of the petty republic of Ragusa, which ■■■ ■ this period groaning under the oppression and extortions of the celebrated General Marmont, who commanded there, and ■■■ exacting the unwilling homage of what remained of that little fallen state.

My regiment was to be embarked among the rest, and ■■■ had but ■ short time allowed for getting ourselves in readiness.

of Dioclesium, and for the ruins of his palace) is pronounced short in the second syllable; ■■■ though ■■■ may ■■■■ contrary both to the ■■■■ march of the Italian language, and to the quantity of the original Latin ■■■■ yet two other examples, exactly analogous, are presented upon the ■■■■ shores of ■■■ Adriatic, in the ■■■■ of Taranto and Otranto, both so pronounced. Horace Walpole has told ■■■ that he selected the latter name for ■■■ romance only from seeing ■ upon ■■■ map; ■■■ as ■■■ adopted it rather by the eye than by the ear, it may reasonably be suspected that ■■■ ■■■■ not have chosen ■ had he been aware how it is pronounced on ■■■ spot.

There was just then a great deal of sickness amongst us; and, owing to the paucity of the transports, and the multitude of the troops which were to be conveyed in them, nothing could exceed the state of inconvenience and confinement to which we were subjected on board.

This was the first time that I had ever been sea-sick in my life, and I underwent my full share of the torment of sea-sickness, so as to find myself extremely weak and reduced from it.

The vessel in which I was, touched at an island of Dalmatia to procure water, the great consumption on board having already exhausted the stock brought with us from Venice. I felt comforted by the sight of land, and, dreary as this place was, and without any sign of inhabitant,

that disposition of [] to have thought myself happy, had it only been permitted [] to fix and [] finish my days there.

Several of my comrades [] to have yielded [] impulse of the sort, for they went on shore [] the pretext of assisting the [] in the provision of water, and [] returned to us; it is probable that they may have found some [] of making their way from thence to Trieste, and [] entering into the Austrian service.

I myself felt strongly the temptation of seeking the [] adventure, not from any particular zeal for the German cause, but because it appeared to [] that I might [] a [] of less disquiet and hardship in that service, than in this restless and [] script army.

The attempt, however, for the pre- quite impossible upon my part, my strength being reduced that I could not hold myself upright; I remained therefore on board.

This island is situated not far from Rovigno, on the north-western side of the small gulf of Quarner: that gulf frequently remained to be crossed, which is of a peculiarly dangerous navigation in the winter season, during the prevalence of the violent wind called Bora, which sweeps downwards upon it from the northward.

We got under weigh, imprudently enough, with every sign of an approaching tempest, and had proceeded but a very few miles from the island, so as scarce to have reached the open part of the gulf, before the gale rose at once to a most

furious height, every vessel breaking vessel.

The captain ordered the troops below, and, fastening down the hatches upon us, considered to the best chance of saving the ship.

The Bora of the Adriatic is a wind of such a degree of violence, is almost inconceivable to any person who has never been exposed to it, and the scantiness of sea-room there makes it peculiarly perilous, for, if a ship is unable to hold her course, and is driven before it, she is sure to be wrecked upon some part of the marshes of Ancona, where, from the shallows, and shelving nature of the coast, there can be little or no hope of any lives being saved. This consideration determined the captain at once to endeavour

rather at all risks ■ weather out the ■
in the open sea, than, by trying ■ make
for any port, to expose us ■ the peril of
being stranded ■ a lee shore.

The storm continued two whole days
and nights without intermission, and when
upon the third it began to abate, ■
transport, though saved by the firmness
and prudence of our captain, appeared
little better than a wreck upon the water,
masts, sails, rigging, being all either torn
and broken in pieces, ■ wholly carried
away.

When the hatches ■ ■ open, a ■
and greater ■ of disaster presented
itself; terror, sea-sickness, hunger, ex-
haustion with some, suffocation, and the
consequences of confined air with more,
who were ■ previously invalids, had taken

such effect, that thirty-one of the [REDACTED] were lying dead below, and their corpses, stripped of their uniforms, were thrown into the [REDACTED] many of the living, also, [REDACTED] scarce distinguishable from them, and could not long have survived; but we found that [REDACTED] were near Spalatro, and [REDACTED] made shift to gain that harbour, where [REDACTED] joined the remainder of the regiment, who had all supposed us lost in the passage, and [REDACTED] looked upon our escape [REDACTED] being little less than a miracle, [REDACTED] in fact it [REDACTED]

Only two days after our landing, General Marmont [REDACTED] over: and after reviewing the whole reinforcement, gave orders that [REDACTED] should be distributed so [REDACTED] to form small garrisons in the neighbouring islands.

That of Lesina was assigned to the corps

■■■ which I belonged ; but my own ■■■ of health not being such ■■ to admit of the possibility of any removal for ■■■ present, I ■■■ ■■■ to the hospital, and there left in charge of the army physicians, by whom I ■■■ shamefully neglected, ■■ seemed ■■ ■■ their system ; and ■■ suffered, during my illness, every sort of privation and discomfort.

I remained thus two months ■■ patient in the hospital at Spalatro, and at the expiration of that term was directed to join my regiment at Lcsina, which had been stationary there all the while. I proceeded accordingly, and did duty with them there about four weeks, when fresh orders ■■■■ that ■■ ■■■ to remove to the Bocca-di-Cattaro, which lies to the south of Ragusa, and has something in its aspect very

desolate and romantic, on account of the extreme ruggedness and boldness of the mountains which stand close about it.

These mountains are the last retreat of that wild and lawless race called the Montenegrini, the greater part of whom are others than originally subjects and citizens of the old republic of Ragusa, who, feeling keenly both the losses and degradation of their country, under the French, were resolved, in their own persons at least, to make an experiment of resistance. They began by committing great cruelties and excesses; and, aided and encouraged by the intrigues of the Austrian government, wreaked their vengeance, in the first instance, upon such of their own countrymen as were more pacific, and opposed to their views.

The commerce of their little state had been considerable, that they could count at time three hundred large merchant vessels belonging to their port; all these they burned, and, not content with doing, proceeded to sack and plunder all the principal villages, that Marmont could only be said to reign over the ashes of that country.

This desperate body had afterwards retired up into the fastnesses, and fixing there, and becoming incorporated with a native race of hardy and warlike mountaineers, constantly upon the watch to annoy and obstruct every operation that was carrying on below.

In our case, no it perceived troops were attempting to land, than these Montenegrini flocking down, and, posting themselves to

the base of their mountains, begun firing upon us; when, after considerable loss, we had effected our landing, their efforts were less violent to prevent ~~us~~ towards Cattaro; for they judged rightly, that we were ~~not~~ for their destruction, and to hunt them out, if possible, from their last asylum. We succeeded ~~at~~ length in penetrating ~~the~~ the town, but it was with the sacrifice of a great many lives; and such of ~~our~~ men ~~as~~ taken prisoners ~~were~~ treated with great inhumanity, being first mutilated in their limbs, and then exposed to perish, ~~as~~ to be devoured by the wild beasts.

At Cattaro, ~~we~~ appointed ~~us~~ take up our quarters for some time. I ~~was~~ here a relapse of my former illness, and was again in the hospital for ten days. So soon

as my strength ■■■ restored, I again fell into the ranks, and bore my part in ■■■ the enterprises in which my regiment was ■■■ gaged ; which ■■■ coupled ■■■ all the horrors of such ■ civil war, and ■ system of proscription ■■ extermination. I shudder when I think of some of them.

We next received orders to go forward for Budoa *, ■ city of high antiquity, that is ■ ■■ great distance from Cattaro, inhabited by ■ very quiet race of people, who saw the sad spectacle of French bayonets, for the first time, upon ■■■ coming amongst them.

■ continued in Budoa four months, during which nothing remarkable occurred,

■ Budoa is ■ strong sea-port and a bishop's see ; ■ sustained a siege by the Turks in 1686. It ■ 30 ■■ S.E. of Ragusa.

beyond several encounters, less general, with the Montenegrini.

During these four months, I made acquaintance with several merchants from Scutari, in Turkish Albania, who traded from time to time with Budoa; with one more especially, grown very intimate (he speaking the Italian language fluently); and I confided to him the project which I had long cherished, of deserting from the army; and even further, let him into the secret that I was alone in my scheme, for that there less than sixteen of us who were all of the same mind, including our sergeant and his wife in the number. I threw myself altogether upon his kindness and indulgence, and assured him how deeply the obligation would be felt by all of us, if he

could find ■ supply any ■ facilitate ■ escape.

My ■ shook his head, and answered at once, that to assist us, and become party in any way ■ desertion, ■ quite impossible; French spies ■ so active in all the neighbouring provinces, that he should be sure of being detected and denounced, and that the consequences might be absolute ruin to him: we must not, therefore, delude ourselves by counting upon his vessel.

When he found, however, that it ■ in vain to endeavour to dissuade ■ from seeking other means, ■ of the sincere regard which he seemed to feel, he could ■ refrain from suggesting to me, that, looking ■ the localities of our present position, it appeared to him ■ it would be much more

feasible for us to make our flight by land ; and, after expressing this opinion, he described exactly the track which we ought to take, and the point which would be best to pass the confines between [] and Albania. Should this course be adopted, he recommended [] should throw ourselves at once into the hands of the Turkish authorities, from whom he [] persuaded that we should meet with consideration and good treatment.

I repeated this advice of the Albanian merchant faithfully [] those in our secret, by whom it [] generally approved, and, all remaining quite steady in their purpose of desertion, [] preparatory step we swore fidelity [] another, and that [] would rather be content to die, than [] betray our purpose, [] submit to [] any longer in the French army.

No [] did the day dawn which had been previously agreed upon for our escape, than [] were each of [] busied in laying together all that belonged [] us, [] would be likely to be wanted by the way, taking every precaution to do this unobserved by such of our comrades [] knew nothing of [] intentions.

Precisely at noon all met at a place that had been determined on: we were [] Italians, sixteen in number, including the serjeant's wife, and each of the [] carried with him all his arms and accoutrements.

We lost no time in proceeding upon [] way, and the consciousness that, in every yard that we advanced we had by so much recovered [] comparative [] of liberty and free-will, made the toil [] fatigue appear light [] []

We got confused, and being quite ignorant of direction, we climbed the top of the great mountain which overlooks Budoa : we reached it before the sun went down, and peeping cautiously from thence upon the city, we commanded it to be able to discern almost every thing that was passing there ; amongst the rest, we could very plainly distinguish the muster and roll-call of the troops, and even thought that we could perceive the bustle of surprise and inquiry that was occasioned in our own company, by the circumstance of so many of us not appearing. Some of us, eagerly intent upon this scene, and others more usefully engaged in taking observation, went to the road which we should follow, and remained upon this elevated spot till it grew dark : we

then began ~~the~~ descent upon the further side, and made onwards for Albania; walking ~~in~~ our quickest pace, and about midnight ~~we~~ already reached the frontier.

A French outpost was stationed there; and no approach perceived, than we hailed with the watchword of *qui vive*? For a moment we felt all lost, but some of our party no sooner heard the challenge repeated for the second time, than he presented his musket, and shot the centinel dead upon the spot. the report alarmed the remainder of the outpost, and they flew to their arms, and supposing us to be really deserters, they did their utmost to turn us back.

The night was so dark, that the parties could hardly see another.

especially as all wore the same uniform; [REDACTED] firing, however, [REDACTED] very [REDACTED] upon both sides, [REDACTED] the result very disastrous, for, though by some good fortune, not one of the deserting party was hurt, five of the French piquet were left dead, and [REDACTED] have [REDACTED] [REDACTED] think that several others were left wounded.

The advantage, in short, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] much upon our side, that we passed [REDACTED] unmolested into the Albanese territory, where the absence of any corresponding Turkish guard greatly facilitated our pressing forward; so that the sun had not risen above an hour, when we came in sight, [REDACTED] of the castle, and then of the town of [REDACTED].

The former of these stands on a commanding height; and as [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] Turkish garrison within observed us

approaching, and that we were armed and
 accoutred like French soldiers, an alarm was
 given, and all instantly became upon the
 alert; for Antivari, at that time, had a
 large force in it, and was well provided with
 ammunition: a resident Pasha had the com-
 mand of it, with the charge of watching
 and keeping check upon the French opera-
 tions in Dalmatia, who, on our ap-
 proach, apprized of our appearance in the distance,
 then he ordered out a considerable body of
 troops, and placing himself at their head,
 marched towards us in order to learn our
 intentions and object.

We could distinguish the gate opening,
 and this armed body, in gay colours, march-
 ing towards us; and, since every thing that
 we feared was behind, we were free
 from looking at this with any apprehen-

sion, that the sight inspired ■ with ■ full confidence in ■ safety, and we ■ eagerly forward ■ the cavalcade.

But this impetuosity on ■ part ■ altogether misconstrued, and supposed ■ proceed from very opposite intentions, ■ that the Turkish body drew up ■ if ready for ■ encounter, and many shots were discharged at us.

We were thus soon made sensible of our error, and resorted to a more prudent course, in laying down ■ arms upon the ground, and waving our handkerchiefs above our heads in token of peace, which we thought would be sufficiently intelligible. How- ■ there seemed still to remain ■ doubts and misgivings, and the large body moved forward very cautiously and slowly towards ■ small one.

Not ■■■ amongst them, ■ it happened, could speak either French ■ Italian; ■ when they came within pistol-shot of us, the two parties stood stupidly gazing upon one another, our first experiment having taught us that there would be great risk in moving from our place.

In this dumb-show we remained fixed for ■■■ minutes, till a Turkish officer arrived, who, having some little knowledge of European languages, had been sent for into the town to interpret between us.

We ■■■ explained to him that ■■■ deserters, and that ■ wished ■ find an asylum amongst the Turks.

He carried ■■■ message to the Pasha, who ■ sooner heard it, than he beckoned us ■ forward, and received ■■■ mute signs of respect and obedience with ■ air of

and satisfaction, and gave a protecting nod, as if in answer to our wishes.

While we stood there before him, an object of great curiosity to his whole suite and to all who were collected, he called again to him the officer who interpreted, and asked us, through him, if we were hungry, in truth we were, and he told him so. Upon which he himself gave orders that we should be supplied with every thing that we could possibly have need of.

After that, he made entry into the town, the people shouting before us that we were “soldiers who had deserted from the infidel army in Dalmatia,” that a great sensation and a sort of feeling of triumph were excited, the people every where crowding forward to see us as we passed along.

The serjeant's wife immediately apart from the rest, it being considered quite contrary to Turkish usages that a woman should remain in the society of ~~men~~. I do not well know what became of her afterwards, so that I take my leave of her here, and pursue the thread of my story.

As for myself, and my fourteen rades, we were all lodged in the principal mosque of Antiväri, and there liberally supplied with all that we could want.

It was a large pile, and seemed to be the work of different ages, but the greater part of it had, in early times, been a Christian church, since converted to the purposes of Mahometan worship; and this became our abode.

I shall not pursue the history of any of

my deserter-companions further than it may, of necessity, be mingled with my own,

It is a circumstance not to be omitted, that, whilst we continued in this mosque, once at least in every day, if not oftener, we were visited by a person who seemed to be high in authority. He could scarce converse with us at all; but, by his prepossessing aspect and kind manners, gained our confidence and esteem very much.

We did not comprehend the object of his interviews quite at first, but we began to perceive that they had reference to our religion, which we were thus daily invited to renounce, and to become converts to the creed of the country.

Full well we were at that time of true Italian zeal, these men made us the

smallest impression upon us; we indignant at the very suggestion of renouncing our faith, and encouraged another reciprocally in a resolution rather to die than to submit to it; nay, I verily believe that we were prepared to have done so, had we of direct compulsion been resorted to; but the government took a less summary course with us.

When we found to persist in our determination, we were soon given to understand that we must look for a very different sort of treatment from what we had hitherto experienced, since it was but reasonable, we were told, that if we would not become Mussulmen, we could not hope to be sharers in their privileges and advantages, but we be prepared for a life of hardship and privation.

Threats no more upon us than bribes and promises, and its being reported to the Pasha that there seemed no reasonable hopes of our conforming, he gave orders that from that moment we should be considered and treated as slaves.

We accordingly all out of the mosque, to work at the quarries, which not far from the city. We were employed in the cutting, but in the carrying of the stones, which we were compelled to upon our shoulders, and so to convey them, like beasts of burthen, all the way up the castle, in which there was a wall building at the time.

The labour of this was intolerable, and our clothes worn out by it more and every day, the rough and heavy

blocks began to press at last on our bare backs, which were sore from the load.

We had dragged on this wretched mode of existence during three months, without any spark of compassion having touched those who were set over us; our spirit broken, and our strength exhausted, so that it seemed impossible for us to persevere in this course, and live.

Wearied out at last, our serjeant one day opened his mind to us. He pointed out (which there was no need to do) the wretchedness of our present condition, and that if we continue in it must inevitably shorten our lives. Our country was closed against us; we had therefore no hope as Christians, while every thing was held out to us if we would conform to the religion of that country which was

chosen for ourselves, and which ■■■ willing
■■■ adopt ■■■ The Mahometans believed,
■■■ do, in a God; and upon examination
■■■ might find the differences from our
mother church to be less than ■■■ had
imagined; ■■■ the worst, ■■■ might still
retain our own creed, and put up our ■■■
prayers in our hearts.

It is wonderful what ■ few bold words
will do, especially when they address them-
selves to existing circumstances, and to
fellow-feelings.

I am persuaded that, up to that mo-
ment, there was not ■■ amongst ■■ who
would not have suffered death rather than
entertain a thought of adopting, even out-
wardly, any other ■■■ than that in which
he ■■■ born; and, indeed, this feeling had
shewn itself so strongly, that it enabled us

not only to endure, but ■■■■ to submit patiently to, our hardships and sufferings.

Yet no sooner were these words uttered, than, after looking silently upon ■■■■ another for a moment, without further persuasion upon his part, or further reasoning ■■■■ the subject, or objection offered upon ours, we all came at once to the determination of professing to be Mahometans.

Notice of this was communicated to the Pasha, who ■■■■ sooner heard it, than he gave all the necessary orders respecting us.

We ■■■■ immediately released from the laborious drudgery of the quarries, and ■■■■ conducted into a mosque, where the Mufti, pronouncing ■■■■ mystic words ■■■■ prayers before us, and an exhortation in a language which ■■■■ ■■■■ understand, we ■■■■ received ■■■■ Mussulmen; though ■■■■ believe ■■■■ of us continued ■■■■ our

hearts as good Catholics as we had been before.

This change carried with it the necessity ~~of~~ a change of ~~name~~ also; and I fixed upon that of Mahomet.

As for the rite of circumcision, it ~~was~~ remitted ~~to me~~ for the present, till, by becoming better acquainted with the language, we should be greater proficient in our ~~new~~ form of religion.

No ~~one~~ had our recantation been made, than all the officers, in the highest posts of the Pasha's army, were desirous of having, each of them, ~~one~~ of ~~us~~ in his service; and, though to be little, ~~it was~~ all, better than servants and attendants, promised no very brilliant career, yet, after what we had lately been enduring, any life, exempt from hard labour ~~and~~ bodily suffering, appeared one of comparative hap-

piness; and, to do the Turks justice, they
generally kind and indulgent

Mine was a native of Scutari, and of a
good family; he held the rank of a general-
officer in the garrison; his age was twenty-
four; and he was a young man more
favoured by nature, and gifted with a better
disposition.

He exacted from me little or no other
service beyond the presenting of his pipe
to him, which is a regular office in the
principal establishments of the East.

He took at once a great affection for me,
distinguishing me as much above all his
other attendants, that it became a source
of great heart-burnings and jealousies
amongst them; and, on my part, I could
but feel grateful for his kindness
and eager to anticipate all his wishes.
Every day he lavished upon me

proofs of his regard, and honoured me in the sight of all the rest, by clothing me more richly than any of them : and no where is the dress more costly, or more beautiful, ■■■ considered, than it is in Albania. His confidence ■■■ went ■■ far ■■ to permit me the entrance of his harem.

This harem included ten females of different countries, all of them young, and all more or less attractive, and the merriest creatures that I ever saw.

At first I was, if not ■■ indifferent, ■■ least ■■ innocent spectator, and ■■■ amused with their playfulness, without paying much regard to their persons ; but my young heart ■■■ caught fire, and I began ■■ brood over ■■ passion which, ■■ it had ■■ vent, began to make ■■ very unhappy ; ■■ length, feeling that ■■ could smother ■■■ contain it ■■ longer, I found ■■■ ■■ re-

veal it to its object, who ■■■ a principal favourite with my master.

She ■■■ a Georgian ; and her name ■■■ Fatima. At first I neither ■■■ her apart from the others, nor could speak her language, yet looks passed between ■■ that were sufficiently understood ; and we ■■■ sought and found opportunities of meeting alone.

Nothing had been left me to wish for, when the garrison received orders ■■ remove from Antivari to Scutari ; which, being my master's native city, it ■■■ there that he made all that parade of magnificence and expense which is deemed indispensable in a ■■■ of rank in the East. But though his suite became ■■■ numerous, I continued with him not less an object of favour than ■■ first ; and I found, also, that the change

place had occasioned no change in the affections of Fatima.

But the envy of all the rest of the establishment became combined against me, and as they found means to speak unfavourably of me to my master; and, though nothing was proved, I was found myself for ever shut out from his good graces.

Thus deprived altogether of his confidence, and almost debarred from his presence, nothing remained but to submit to the hard menial office which he was pleased to assign me, which was other than that of hewing wood, and fetching it from a mountain at the distance of six miles, for the daily consumption of the house; a beast of burthen was allowed to load; but it was a dismal errand,

without any companion or comfort by the way.

My degradation in the household not, however, affect the preference which Fatima had conceived for me; she proceeded even, occasionally, in stealing into my room, and sometimes when, from my being called away to some drudgery, she did not find me there, would contrive to leave some linen for me, or some other little present or token.

I began to get accustomed to this new mode of life, and even not to dislike it, when new difficulties arose; for Fatima proved with child, and our intercourse seemed to be more than suspected.

Turning the matter in my mind, it sometimes occurred to me, that the best end that this could come to was, that I should

be compelled by the law to marry her, for that ■ what I should have wished ; but then imagination, always making risks and difficulties appear to be greater than they are, made ■■ dread the operation of circumcision *, ■ which I conceived that I should, in that case, infallibly be subjected, and which I had hitherto shifted off from ■■

Neither my wishes ■■ my fears upon these points had, perhaps, any good foundation in Turkish laws ■■ usages ; but I had ■■ person to consult, and ■■ obliged,

■ Ali Bey entertained such an extravagant idea of the indispensable necessity of this rite, "even ■ travellers in Mahometan countries," that he says, "I look upon ■■ safety of their journey as almost impossible ■■■ they have previously submitted to ■■ rite;" which is far from being the case ; and, as it ■■ sometimes dangerous to grown persons, I apprehend very few rascals ■■ submit to it.

therefore, to rely upon the suggestions of my ■■■■ imagination and conjectures. Yet one thing I know past ■■■■ doubt, which might alone have been sufficient to have decided me, and that was, that my ■■■■ could take, if he *would*, a very different, and ■ much more summary ■■■■ of proceeding with me, than that of making ■■■■ marry the girl. ■ had the example before my eyes of one of my renegade comrades, whose case presented an exact parallel to my own, who, upon his being discovered by his master, ■■■■ carried by him before a judge, and condemned and executed.

My own situation was become ■■■■ critical for ■■■■ ■ resist such ■ warning as this, and ■ ■■■■ ■ the resolution of flying from Scutari. .

I ■■■■ many acquaintance among the

merchants who brought their goods [REDACTED] from the port of Dolcigno; several of these were [REDACTED] in the city, and their vessels lying in that harbour till they should [REDACTED] to Alexandria, which [REDACTED] their chief place of traffic. I considered that [REDACTED] one of these would afford me the best opportunity for getting out of the country, and escaping from the dangers that seemed to be preparing for me.

Whilst I was deliberating in which of them I should confide, it [REDACTED] happened that I [REDACTED] in with my original friend the Captain-merchant, whom I had known and consulted [REDACTED] Budoa, and who had there been [REDACTED] first prompter of [REDACTED] plan of escape over-land.

Scutari [REDACTED] [REDACTED] own country, and he seemed extremely surprised, and even [REDACTED]

little piqued, ■ find ■ ■ impatient ■ quit it, till, relying upon his friendship for ■ I partly developed to him my reasons ; and he then consented, upon ■ understanding that all should be arranged very secretly, ■ give me ■ passage ■ Alexandria ; so that, by ■ singular fatality, the very ■ vessel that ■ had first looked to as the means of flying to that country, ■ destined to be the means of my flying *from* it.

From the moment that this ■ fixed and agreed on, I became as impatient ■ leave Scutari ■ ■ I had been, until lately, contented, and even happy in remaining there,—so strongly ■ ■ impression of the necessity of the case taken hold of my mind.

To do the Albanians justice, ■ had found

much good and received much kindness amongst them; they are but little improved by education, but ■■ possessed of excellent natural qualities; their disposition is quick and fiery, but feeling and sensitive, and ■■ less strong and faithful in their attachments; their great failing is an extreme greediness after money, ■■ that, ■■ they are ■■ sufficiently advanced in civilization to make their gains by ingenuity ■■ handicraft, nor sufficiently steady, perhaps, for regular and fixed habits of industry, they almost ■■ follow the roving professions either of merchants, ■■ of occasional robbers; leading ■■ very restless life, and often enlisting from time ■■ time in the armies of other provinces.

Their appetite for gold, in some instances, is quite childish, and yet not the

less to be deplored in its results; I heard ■ cited, in which ■ European traveller ■ shot for the sake of the brass buttons ■ his coat, which were ignorantly mistaken for the precious metal. The murderer ■ touched with ■ when he ■ what he had done, and was found grieving bitterly over the stranger's body.

The women partake of the same tone of character, the same virtues, and the ■ failings ■ the men; they have little acquirement or artificial polish, but great natural courtesy, and are permitted ■ intercourse with strangers, and more liberty, than in other parts of Turkey. They ■ women of ■ active spirit and ■ masculine courage, so that they can occasionally ■ the firelock almost as well as their husbands. I am here speaking, it will be

understood, rather of the wives of the peasantry and mountaineers.

Upon the whole, they are a people that deserve from me every expression of kindness and good-will, and I should be ungrateful if I ever could forget the good treatment and affection that I received amongst them.

Yet my stay was short, and I saw more and more the urgent necessity for my departure. So the resolution being once taken, I was glad to fortify myself in it, and eagerly turned upon every consideration or prospect that could reconcile me to putting it in execution.

Amongst others, I received such brilliant and high-coloured accounts of Egypt, from all with whom I spoke on the subject, that I felt a great curiosity and wish to

there. Albanians were daily flocking thither to the army, and sent home inviting descriptions both of the cheapness of the living, the regularity and largeness of their pay. Wars were also continually talked of, that were to be waged against I knew not what provinces, full of gold and spices, where cities were to be taken that would send every man home rich to his country. With tales such as these, which I heard continually, my imagination became heated, and I began to dream of riches and adventure.

I had no money to pay for my passage, and so could only rely on the disinterested kindness of my friend, the merchant. He did not, however, fail me, and I promised him, in gratitude for his assistance, that I should have, upon my arrival in Alex-

andria; both my pistols and my long dagger, which were very handsomely mounted in wrought silver.

It was in the month of March, of the year 1809, that, taking the utmost precautions of secrecy, I embarked with him, and sailed from the port; not indeed, without a pang at the reflection that I was leaving, and probably for ever, the being whom I had loved with the tenderest passion, and who loved me in return. But to stay with her would have been fatal to both; to carry her with me was impracticable, and I never could summon the courage to bid her farewell; I parted from her without explanation; but her image was so present to me on board, that it was as if I seemed to see, or to take leave of in the coasts of Albania.

I stifled ■ expression of these feelings, and endeavoured to divert my attention from them, by observing what presented itself in our voyage.

We passed under the Ionian Islands, taking all in their order from Corfu to Cerigo, and I was much struck and delighted with the varied outline of some parts of the Morea, in the distance.

We proceeded thence into the Archipelago, and so through an infinity of little islands, the steerage between which is ■ sionally very intricate and difficult.

A cross wind obliged us to put into the port of Rhodes, but our stay there was too short to admit of my seeing much of that beautiful and celebrated island*.

* The scenery about the port of Rhodes has very considerable beauty, but not so the rest of the island.

we had the wind in favour and weather moderate, so that within a few days we could discover the low shores of Egypt in the distance; and I still recollect, with delight, the when Pompey's pillar first pointed me as marking the position of Alexandria, where (after passing close in front of the bay of Aboukir, the scene of that famous sea-fight between the French and the English) came safely to anchor, notwithstanding some trifling difficulties getting within the harbour.

Here of life opened upon the war that I became engaged in, which I witnessed, the sufferings that I underwent, the sources of satisfaction that I found, and, last of all, those long and distant journeys that it was my

fortune ■ be engaged in, both in Asia ■
Africa, will furnish matter for ■ ■
ceeding chapters.

CHAPTER II.

Enlistment in Mahomet Ali's service—Ophthalmia—
 Cairo—Feuds between Turkish and Albanian soldiery
 —Successes against the Mamelukes—Preparations
 the War in Arabia—Massacre of the Mamelukes—
 Author's Marriage—Thieves in the Camp—Fatal
 mistake there—and consequences—Marching orders
 under Tossoun Pasha.

ON board the vessel which brought me to
 Alexandria an Albanian officer, who
 pressed me over and over again, during the
 voyage, to enlist in the Pasha of Egypt's
 service, under his command; an overture
 which I was at first disposed to decline,
 till, reflecting that I had neither friends
 nor acquaintance in that strange country,
 nor any means of subsistence, it seemed
 best to avail myself once of the oppor

tunity as it offered, and to engage myself with him, which I accordingly did. So that, after having, at the risk of life, withdrawn myself from one military service, here I was, out of hand, enlisting a volunteer in another !

The [redacted] of livelihood at least, however, were thus secured to [redacted] from the moment of my setting foot [redacted] shore, for this officer took [redacted] [redacted] his own quarters, and maintained [redacted] at his own charge, till such time as I should be regularly attached, and received into the Pasha's pay ; for which the order was [redacted] obtained, and (no better post having been held out [redacted] [redacted] than that of a private soldier) I became one of a small Albanian company, stationed in Alexandria, and commanded by my patron.

A Turkish soldier does not receive his full monthly pay exactly when it becomes due, being the system to keep a considerable balance in arrear, and so to clear the same only once or twice in the course of the year, according to circumstances. Being provided, however, with all necessaries for maintenance, and finding every thing else as he procured at a very reasonable rate, what I received of mine, enabled me by degrees to repair and refit my wardrobe, and, with the aid of some small credit, I was sufficient also to supply my little comforts and amusements.

As for the city itself, (though the surrounding country has little to recommend it,) being the first of the larger sea-ports of the Levant which I had seen, I

much struck upon landing with its bustling appearance, the variety of nations and habits which I assembled*; and finding afterwards the convenience of its cheapness and abundance†, I became well satisfied with my position, had it not been for that distressing malady which is so general in Egypt, that any settler may consider himself highly favoured who has the good fortune to escape.

I speak of the ophthalmia, which attacked me before I had been quite five months in

* Ali Bey, vol. i., p. 325, says, "the confused mixture of nations which compose the inhabitants of Alexandria — this modern Babel, &c."

† Ali Bey says, speaking of Alexandria in 1806, (during the disturbances,) "notwithstanding this assemblage of circumstances so unfavourable, the public markets were well furnished: what an abundance there under such suspicious circum-

the service, and, partly owing to my making light of it at first, and submitting to no remedies, got to such a height, that during the two next I became completely blind, and suffered very great torment. After which, my eyes gradually recovered, and were at length quite restored; but the discomfort and apprehension* had so disgusted me with Alexandria, that I made up my mind to quit it as soon as I should have received the pay that was due to me, and this happening but a few days after I had so determined, I was quite free to go where I pleased.

* It is not to be understood from this, that this disorder is not equally prevalent in other parts of Egypt, though a new comer might not be aware of this. When therefore, Ali Bey says of it, at Alexandria, "I look upon Ophthalmia as the only epidemic disorder of that country," he may be presumed that he so apply the term generally.

I therefore took leave of my officer and comrades; and, indeed, of all military ■■■ vice for a time, that I might go ■ my ■■■ to Cairo.

As I proceeded upwards, every thing that I ■■■ ■■■ to me, the whole aspect of Egypt being ■ different from other countries; and I was delighted both with the convenience of the navigation on the Nile,—with the majesty of the river itself,—with the succession of objects which its banks presented to me; and, above all, with the first sight that I caught of the pyramids, which astonished me the ■■■ when I ■■■ informed ■ how great a distance they still ■■■ from us; for the eye, not making allowance for the extreme clearness of atmosphere, judges very imperfectly of space in that climate.

The first aspect and entry of the City of Cairo itself was no less surprising to me * ; its extent, its intricacy, its dense and varied population, where people of all colours and languages were to be brought together, the continual traffic that is crowding through its streets, and the bazars filled with all manner of the richest merchandize, were all so many causes of excitement, and raised my curiosity to a high degree.

I had been fixed there but a very few days, when I fell in with some Albanians of my acquaintance, who shewed great satisfaction at meeting me again ; and one of them who was under his command in the garrison a body of no less than four hundred men, finding that I was very ready

* Ali Bey speaks with the same admiration at the first aspect of Cairo. Vol. ii., pp. 14, 15.

again to enter into the service, undertook ■ ■ ■ my views. ■ ■ spoke for me, accordingly, to one of the general officers, who ordered ■ ■ ■ I should be immediately enrolled; and afterwards, when my good conduct ■ ■ ■ soldier had been certified from Alexandria, assigned me, ■ ■ my friend's recommendation, the post of Belik-bash (which ■ ■ ■ nearly to that of corporal in ■ ■ European regiment), and placed six men under my charge: ■ ■ that I had now risen a little step, and was more in the direct service of the Pasha, since the troops in Cairo may be considered in the light of a sort of body-guard.

This Pasha is the celebrated Mahomet Ali*, whose name ■ ■ become familiar ■ ■ ■

* ■ ■ is said to have been born at Ka Cavale, in Roumelia, in 1769, and there married; he came to

European ears; his course of greatness was, at that period, comparatively in its infancy; but he had even then developed those large views, and that extended scheme of enterprize and policy, which have since rendered him such a regenerator of his province, and such a terror to all his enemies. Whatever Egypt at this day enjoys, either of or industry, internal quiet, is owing entirely to him; and, generally speaking (if his conduct to the Mamelukes be excepted), his have been effected without bloodshed, for he is not wantonly or habitually cruel.

Egypt in 1801 or 1802, and was raised to the Pashalick in 1805, from which was recalled by the Porte in the year following, but stood his ground. wife, mother of Ibrahim, Toussein, and Ismael, joined him in 1809, and resides in the citadel; while a younger wife, a Georgian, by whom he has no living children, inhabits the *Kabekych*.—*Mengin*, vol. i., p. 95.

I felt proud to serve under so extraordinary a man, and eager for every opportunity of distinguishing myself. It was no time, however, to think as yet of external warfare; for, though the progress and successes of the sect of the Wahabees* had interrupted and shut out all commerce upon one side, and had cut off from the Pashalick all the honour and benefit of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, yet it was plain to the government that faction must first be put down, and internal peace

* The founder of the sect, Abdul Wahab, was born so long ago as 1696. He of Mecca placed himself under the protection of his lineal successor, about 1809. Medina had submitted in 1805; and the pilgrim caravan, from Damascus, stopped and went back in 1806 and 1807. A memoir of the progress of the sect, from the very beginning, will be found both in Mengin and in Ali Bey.

established, before any thing could be undertaken against them with a hope of success.

One present source of disquiet and disorder, especially within the capital, was in the temper of the troops themselves, who being few or many of them natives, partly Turkish and partly Albanian, though, perhaps, the number of the Albanians predominated.

A deadly feud* and antipathy existed

* Mengin says,—“D’Albanais, que les Turcs n’emploient jamais sans défiance, et qu’ils n’osent charger de la garde de leurs forteresses, parcequ’ils les considèrent étrangers à leur nation.” Vol. i. p. 9. And again, p. 242, “La mesintelligence avoit éclatée entre les Albanois et les Turcs.” (1806.) And, p. 306, (1807,) speaks of the insubordination and dangerous excesses of the troops in Cairo, whom he computes at 10,000. At p. 307, he mentions, that even among the Albanians themselves there were two factions. Ali

between two, though it is not easy to say what were the particular points in dispute, their hatred seeming to proceed principally from better than that their language, usages, and dress different.

Parties of them continually meeting in the streets; and, proceeding from mutual taunts and insolence to violence, seldom parted without bloodshed, so that many on both sides were wounded, and killed in such encounters; and it became unsafe for any individual, of either faction, to venture out, without a strong number of his friends about him. Sometimes quite indifferent persons were involved, and suf-

■ Bey, speaking of 1806, says,—“The Arnaut (Albanian) troops, under the command of Mahomet Ali, amount to 5,000 men. They are riotous and dissatisfied.”
Vol. ii, ■ 13.

fered in the confusion of the quarrels ; ■ that they ■ become ■ most formidable scourge.

Mahomet Ali, then but newly, and ■ precariously, in possession of his power *, ■ obliged to temporize with many abuses which he ■ not yet strong enough to repress : his policy, however, then was, with respect to this point, as it has continued ever since, to do away, as much ■ possible, with all distinctions between the soldiery ; owing ■ which, and long habits of intercourse, the inveteracy has become much softened, and has almost died away by degrees.

But employment was a still more immediate remedy, and before long, almost all

* " L'autorité du Pachâ n'étoit pas encore ■ affirmée ; il avoit ■ l'esprit de corps des Albanais. (1808.)" *Mémoires*, vol. i, p. ■

ordered out of the city, and united, under the command of the Pasha's adopted son, Ibrahim Bey ■ (now Ibrahim Pasha), against a ■ enemy that ■ without the walls.

For there ■ of intestine discord quite of another nature, and much more formidable; the Mamelukes †, dis-

■ Ibrahim is styled always by Mengin, the ■ of Mahomet Ali; but I believe the author to be correct in considering him only such by adoption, being commonly said to be the wife's son by a former husband; it would be hard to account otherwise for Tossoon (who was younger) being so much preferred before him who ■ (on the ■ arrival of both, in 1805) made Governor of ■ Citadel, and afterwards a Pasha of two Tails, and General-in-Chief of ■ Mecca Expedition, long before any such honours fell to Ibrahim's share.

† Much the best complete account of the Mamelukes that ■ know ■ in Mr. Hope's very interesting Oriental novel of *Anastasia*; ■ notices of their earlier history may be found, also, in Volney, and in ■ Introduction to Mengin's work, which follows their history to its close, but is too minute to be either clear ■ entertaining.

possessed of their rule, and in whose eyes Mahomet Ali but an usurper and intruder, still retained such a footing in Egypt, that in all the distant parts they continued forcibly to levy their tributions, and harassed and the whole province, to the very fines of the city itself.

It put down this formidable power that our army took the field; but much time lost first in a sort of skirmishing warfare, that was not decisive either party, and only served still further to distress the country. More extended operations resorted to afterwards, the whole force ordered to advance, so as to compel the enemy to a general engagement, to drive them beyond the limits of Egypt;—a summons which the troops

received with joy from their young
mander (exasperated and wearied out
they had hitherto been with a series only
of petty conflicts), and went forward with
him in high spirits.

The march may be considered as almost
a continued of fighting ; for there
not a day in which our progress was not
opposed, sometimes by works thrown up
the line of advance, and sometimes
by the most impetuous attacks the part
of the enemy, in some of which lost
many men, and had occasionally por-
tions of the army turned and thrown into
confusion, but still we continued steadily
gaining ground.

Meantime, the Mameluke force had no
of repairing and recruiting its

bers*, which ■■■■ diminishing gradually in these conflicts. But it cannot be denied, that their resistance ■ the last ■■ a brave one, and worthy of the reputation for valour (especially ■■ cavalry) which they have always enjoyed, and which even their French invaders allowed to them: outnumbered, however, as they now were, and with ■ population opposed to them, the utmost resolution and obstinacy could avail them nothing.

Ibrahim Bey persevered in driving them, step by step, before him all the way to Assouan, which is the frontier town of

* Mengin says of them,—“ Cette troupe, inconstante ■ irrésolue, n'écoulant que les emportemens d'un courage aveugle, perdit peu ■ peu ses forces en luttant partiellement contre un ennemi qui trouvait moyen de réparer ses pertes, tandis qu'elle n'avait pas les mêmes avantages.” Vol. i. p. ■■■■

Egypt, to the southward; and the Mamelukes, seeing no alternative left but to take refuge in the poor and destitute country of Nubia, made themselves masters of the strong position of Ibrim, about ■■■ hundred and forty-five miles above the first cataract, and there established themselves for ■ time.

I ■■■ not personally present to the end of that expedition; for the regiment to which I belonged proceeded no higher than Mansaloot, and ■■■ there ■■■ into cantonments.

Now, although the great body of the Mamelukes ■■■ thus driven out, yet ■■■ ; bers of them, and their adherents and dependents, still remained scattered up and down through the villages and in all parts of the country, and retained offices and

posts which had been given to them under the Mamluk dynasty. It became, therefore, the first care of Mahomet Ali to provide against any intrigues or combinations of persons subversive of his authority; and to this end he issued a proclamation of general and complete amnesty to all who had remained quietly in Egypt; and added an invitation to the chiefs and principal persons amongst them, that they should come and fix their residence in Cairo, and put themselves under the immediate protection of the government.

This conciliatory part of the edict had the effect desired; for, led by the example of Saim * Bey, who was looked up to by all as their head, they flocked, to a number of between five and six thousand,

* Mengin writes this name Chibyn.

the capital, and there every one amongst them who held any charge of honour or emolument, had it confirmed to him, and retained it accordingly.

sooner was the civil war thus happily terminated, and these suspected individuals concentrated at Cairo, and received into allegiance, than it became unnecessary to keep many armed forces stationed here and there in the country; wherefore, with the exception of a large garrison left near the frontier, the most part of the troops were ordered back, and myself in the number, to the quarters we had occupied before the campaign.

We were embarked upon the Nile in barges, which suffered to drop down the stream, but occasionally put ashore, either to shelter ourselves from the

violent heat of the sun, or to pass the night; and two incidents, which happened during those pauses, in the short passage from Manfaloot, may be worth mentioning.

Whilst moored at Minieh, one night, preparatory to my going to rest, I had retired to some distance from my companions, to the shore, and was there in no favourable posture for defence: it was dark, but I thought that I could distinguish something moving on the ground near me, which I supposed to be a dog, but a stone which I threw soon discovered my error, for a man started up, and seemed to slink away to some distance, so that I looked no more after him; but, within a very few seconds, I felt him leap suddenly on me from behind*, and lay violent hold both

* In the margin at the bottom of page 151 of Meugin's

of my wrists and of my throat, and so drag me along backwards with him into a pit close at hand, which is filled by the Nile at some seasons, but was then dry.

He was a powerful man; and I had no arms whatever upon me for defending myself, so that, keeping ■■■ still throttled with ■■■ hand, and kneeling ■■■ me, he proceeded to rifle me with the other, in search of money, or whatever might be worth his taking, but finding nothing, he gave me at last a stab in the right shoulder, with a little crooked knife which he wore, and as he loosed me, struck several blows with a stick to prevent my following.

work, is a remarkable instance given of Egyptian thieving; and in another, on the same subject, appended ■■■ the end of the volume (which ■■■ again refer to), other examples, not less surprising.—See also ■■■ subject; Denon ■■■ most of the travellers in ■■■ country.

I returned back to the boat, and there, shewing my wound, told my comrades what had just happened, upon which all immediately armed themselves, and went to the spot; but, though so much time had been lost, and they searched many hours together in all directions, no signs of the culprit were discoverable. I had, however, the consolation of knowing that he was without booty, and that the cut which he had given me, though it hurt much in the first moments, was of little consequence.

An adventure of this kind had nothing in it that was uncommon at that time,—the Egyptian peasantry were become quite a nation of thieves, and had carried their art to a high degree of skill and perfection; in fact, the confusion of the times, and the

■ struggles between the Pasha's army and the Mamelukes had so taken away from ■ all opportunity for industry or honest gains, as well as all security ■ property, ■ so laid ■ the villages and the whole territory, that a better ■ of life could hardly be expected from them; robberies, therefore, ■ violences, and even murders, became ■ of daily occurrence.

We ■ destined, ■ little lower down, to witness ■ act of still greater audacity, ■ which brought with it far more fatal effects.

We had put ■ shore ■ Benysouef, and after having dined together ■ in one of the great groves of palm-trees, ■ tinued sitting there ■ the afternoon; and to pass ■ time, were amusing ourselves

with games of cards and dice ; the stakes were trifling at first, but rose as ■ proceeded ; and from playing, ■ the outset, for paras, ■ advanced ■ last to gold * ; the interest, of course, grew deeper in proportion, and before night-fall ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ been winners of considerable ■ ■ ■ . The losers ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ in no temper to leave off, and so, when it grew dark, lanthorns were lighted, and hung from the trees, that the game might be continued.

This drew several Arab thieves about us, who crept ■ little by little close to ■ circle unperceived, for we of ourselves ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ stituted a little crowd, being from thirty to forty soldiers, and were all so engrossed by ■ play, that we ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ noticed the

* Probably a very small Turkish gold coin, called the Rubee, of the value of from 2s. 6d. to 3s. English.

strangers, but took for granted that all who
standing sitting round were
attendants the boat's crew ; and the
light, indeed, which lanthorns gave,
was hardly sufficient to have undeceived

Whilst each sitting with his little
heap of money before him, intent upon the
cards, which were dealing round at the
moment, some of these roguish interlopers
suddenly knocked the lights out, and others
at the instant discharging handfuls of
dust into our eyes, snatched up much
of the money they could lay hold of,
and made off with it.

In the first moment of surprise, of
knew what had happened, and nothing
remained be seen but party.
Without entering upon any explanation, or
giving time for any, there began a general

scuffle, every one in [] number supposing himself robbed and insulted by [] rades; [] had instant [] their arms, which were unfortunately [] hand, some stabbing with their dirks, and some cutting with their sabres, and the confusion and bloodshed proceeded [] far, that they did not [] till nine of [] party lay dead or dying on the ground, and several of the remainder grievously wounded, so that I considered myself fortunate in escaping with only a slight sabre-cut upon the []

We learned, afterwards, from [] of the by-standers, when our spirits [] calmed [] brought [] reason, what it [] really taken place, and that they [] in vain tried to stop [] hands in time, [] to pacify [] misdirected, fury [] the beginning of the fray.

■■■ shame and remorse ;
but there ■■■ help for what had hap-
pened, so ■■■ mourned ■■■ ■■■
panions, and got them buried.

Thus diminished in ■■■ numbers, ■■■
quitted Benysouef with horror, and paused
for ■ while the next day opposite the pyra-
mids of Dagshoor: one day ■■■ brought us
to Old Cairo, from whence, ■■■ mounted
and some on foot, ■■■ made our way to the
city.

Upon ■■■ return, fresh instances ■■■
not wanting of ill-blood and renewed ani-
mosities between the Turkish and Alba-
nian soldiery, but Mahomet Ali ■■■ medi-
tating to turn their fierce dispositions ■■■
better account, than by leaving them ■■■
destroy ■■■ another. For the insolence
■■■ the Wahabees, and their power and in-

fluence in Arabia, being daily upon the increase, and the pilgrim ■■■■ plundered by them, or arrested and sent back ■■■■ their pleasure, both his honour and interests ■■■■ engaged ■■■■ put them down, if possible; and this he had determined ■■■■ do.

The preparations were carried on with corresponding activity; and, besides the great force already collected in and about the city, there were fresh reinforcements every day, and new encampments and ■■■■ tonments of Turkish and Albanian troops drawing together upon every side, ■■■■ that the numbers became very large, and much ■■■■ added to Mahometan ardour and enthusiasm by the title now openly given ■■■■ ■■■■ expedition, which was that of the redemption of Mecca.

■■■■ command of it was destined ■■■■ ■■■■

favourite son of ■■■ Pasha, called Tossoon *, who ■■■ younger a great deal than Ibrahim Bey, not having, ■■ that time, attained to ■■■ than his seventeenth year †; he had good natural parts, and had ■■■ received ■■■ education than falls to the lot of Eastern princes in general; he also bore an unblemished character, and ■■■ much beloved, especially by the soldiery.

Just as all seemed ripe for this campaign, it was found necessary to take prompt ■■■ of security against those pardoned Mamelukes resident within the city, for it ■■■ ascertained that they had already begun caballing ‡, and only waited for the

* Tossoon ■■■ been himself created a Pasha of two tails in 1899.

† Mengin says only 16.—Vol. i., p. 372.

‡ Il avoit ■■■ appris dit on, qu'ils (the Mamelukes) avoient conçu le projet ■■■ l'enlever à son retour ■■■ Suez.—*Mengin*, vol. i., p. 371.

marching of the army, for the absence of the Pasha himself, to throw all into confusion, and overturn the government; who, being fully informed of the plot, seeing once the critical and hazard of his situation, resolved striking a decisive blow, and prepared counter-mine accordingly, by which the whole race that gave him umbrage to exterminated in a single day.

It is not known that he consulted previously upon this matter with any other besides the Albanian Chief, Hassan* Pasha, the confidential of all his advisers.

* The name always written *Hassan* in the original, but I have conformed to *Mengin* in writing it as the name Hassan. According to Mengin, only Hassan Pasha, but Süleyh-Koch, as well as the Kiayah Bey, and the Selictar also, were in the dreadful secret: yet possibly this might not be till that very morning.

Dissembling, therefore, suspicion upon his part, and at the same time shunning everything that might excite it on the part of the Mamelukes, he invited their chief, Salm Bey, to his audience, and led him into familiar conversation, opening to him first his views on this holy war, and inviting him to join in it.

The Bey had always passed for a man of craft and penetration; but he overreached in this instance, for acceding once, and seeming flattered at the proposal, he entered freely afterwards into many details, and enumerated those whom he considered to be more or less under his disposal and influence, speaking at the same time in so high and confident a tone of the attachment and union of his followers, as to leave no doubt at all of his ambitious

views on the mind of Mahomet Ali; who, therefore, proceeding in his scheme, ■ concerted with Hassan Pasha, concluded the interview by inviting him, with all his adherents capable of bearing arms, to present themselves in the citadel on the following Friday, in order that arrangements might be made as to the part which this important body should bear in the campaign.

On his return from the audience, the Bey communicated the whole substance of what had passed to such of the Mamelukes ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ most in his confidence, one of whom, who had more discernment than the rest, cried out immediately, "We ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ betrayed!" "So much the worse," ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ plied Saim, "if it be so:" and, rebuking him with ■ look, added, "if there be dan-

ger, ■ shall not ■ courage ■ ■ it."

Then calling together the principal, as well inferior officers, ■ whom he presided, he recommended to them that they should all accompany him to the citadel, at ■ certain hour of the forenoon on the day appointed.

In the mean while the Pasha ■ not idle in concerting his measures for receiving them.

Before dawn, upon the Friday named *, the drums were beating throughout the city to call the troops together ■ for ■ great parade; few, if any of us, had received any intimation of this beforehand, so that all hurried from their quarters to know what it meant, and ■ marched ■ the citadel as they arrived, and stationed there.

* First of March, 1811.

No specific instructions [REDACTED] given, but [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] strictly charged, after [REDACTED] arms [REDACTED] been examined, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] account to quit the post assigned him, and [REDACTED] wait there for further orders *.

The hour of audience was [REDACTED] hand, and [REDACTED] procession of about five hundred† Mameluke officers, of higher [REDACTED] lower degrees, presented themselves [REDACTED] the gate of the citadel, and went in; they made rather [REDACTED] splendid show, and [REDACTED] led by three of their generals, among whom Saim Bey [REDACTED]

* Mengin [REDACTED] in several points in his account of this transaction, and says that the Mamelukes were racted [REDACTED] the citadel in order to be present at the initiation of Tossoun Pasha with the Pasha; but as the ceremony did not, by his own shewing, take place [REDACTED] month afterwards, the pretext here given seems [REDACTED] [REDACTED] probable.

Four hundred and seventy was the [REDACTED] number, according to Mengin, vol. i., p. 363. Amyn, who alone [REDACTED] ped, not being comprehended.

conspicuous : when entered, they proceeded directly onwards to the palace, which occupies the highest ground ; and soon their arrival there announced to Ali and Hassan Pasha, who sitting in conference together within, immediate order given for the introduction of the three Chiefs, who were received with great affability, both Pashas entering into a good deal of conversation with them, and many compliments and civilities passed.

After a time, according to Eastern custom, coffee brought, and, last of all, the pipes ; but at the moment when these presented, as if from etiquette, to leave his guests at their ease, Mahomet Ali rose and withdrew, and sending privately for the captain of his guard, gave orders that gates of the citadel should

be closed; adding, that ■ soon ■ Saim Bey and his two associates should ■ ■ ■ for the purpose of mounting, they should be fired upon till they dropped, and that at the ■ ■ ■ signal the troops, posted throughout the fortress, should take aim at every Mameluke within their reach; while ■ corresponding order ■ sent down at the ■ ■ ■ time to those in the town*, and to such even ■ ■ ■ encamped without, round the foot of the fortress, to pursue the work of extermination on all stragglers that they should find, ■ that not ■ of the proscribed body might escape.

Saim Bey, and his two brothers in command, finding that the Pasha did not re-

* Mengin ■ to this, ■ the Divan Effendi wrote orders ■ all the provincial governors to carry on the same extermination in their several districts, and makes ■ ■ ■ number of victims amount to 1000.

turn to them, and being informed by the attendants that he was gone into his harem (an ■■■■■ that precluded all further inquiry), judged it to be time to take their departure. But no ■■■■■ did they make their appearance without, and were mounting their horses, than they were suddenly fired upon from every quarter, and all became at once ■ scene of confusion, and dismay, and horror, similar volleys being directed at all the rest who were collected round and preparing to return with them, ■ that the victims dropped by hundreds.

Saim himself had time to gain his saddle, and even to penetrate to ■■■ of the gates of the citadel; but ■■ to no purpose, for he found it closed ■■■ the rest; and fell there pierced with innumerable bullets.

Chief, Amin * Bey, who was brother Elfi, urged the noble animal he rode to an act of greater desperation, he spurred him he made clamber upon the rampart, and preferring rather be dashed to pieces than to be slaughtered in cold blood, drove him to leap down the precipice, a height that been estimated at from thirty to forty feet, even more; yet fortune favoured him,

* Mengin writes the name *Amya*, vol. i. p. 292; and, what is very strange, though he notices his escape, says nothing of his famous leap, which I have heard from the Bey himself, and which is known to all Cairo, and the spot pointed out to strangers. Sir P. Henniker says of him, "his horse leapt over the parapet, like leaping out of a four-pair of stairs window. The horse was killed. The Bey entrusted himself to some Arabs, who, notwithstanding the offer of a large reward, would not him up."—p. 64. The Bey's own account agreed with the text, and was probably, indeed, the foundation of it.

that, though the horse was killed in the fall, the rider escaped.

An Albanian camp below, and an officer's very the spot which he alighted; instead of shunning it, he went in, and throwing himself the rites of hospitality, implored that advantage might be taken of him; which not only granted, but the officer offered him protection, even his own peril, and kept him concealed long the popular fury and the of the soldiery tinued.

Of the rest of that devoted number, thus shut up and surrounded, not went out alive; and of those who had quietly remained in the town, but very few found means to elude the active and greedy search that made them, a high price

being set upon every Mameluke's head that should be brought.

All Cairo was filled with wailing and lamentations; and, in truth, the confusion and horrors of that day were indescribable, for not only the Mamelukes alone *, but others also, in many instances, wholly unconnected with them, either from mistake, or from malice, or for plunder, were indiscriminately seized on, and put to death; so that great as the number of those that perished of that ill-fated body, it yet did not comprehend the total of the victims.

For myself, I have reason † to be thank-

* Beaucoup d'individus étrangers à cette scène périrent malgré leur innocence, tant le soldat étoit animé en vengeance.—*Mengin*, vol. i., p. 100. The horrors of the succeeding days are described p. 365.

† For justice to the writer, I should state that I have thought it right to abridge this paragraph, as here

ful that though I was one of the soldiers stationed in the citadel that morning, I shed _____ of the blood of those unhappy men, having had the good fortune to be posted _____ where _____ of them attempted to pass, or _____ me, _____ that my pistols and musket were never fired.

The strange fact of the leap and escape of Amim Bey, and of his asylum in the officer's tent, reached _____ last the Pasha's ears, who sent instantly to demand him; and when the generous Albanian found that it would be impossible any longer to

there to change an expression, in consideration _____ his being still a resident in Egypt; for it will be seen, in a note to page 371 of Mengin, that such a precaution might not be superfluous. "Mohammed-Aly Pacha ayant su _____ voyageurs lui reprochaient dans leurs écrits le massacre _____ Mamlouks," &c.

screen fugitive, he gave him a horse, and recommended him to fly with all speed into Asia; where afterwards him, living in the palace of Suleyman Pasha Acre, at the time of my first visit there with Mr. Bankes.

Meantime, here and there, even in Cairo itself, a few Mamelukes, by chance or contrivance, had survived the day of general slaughter, and were lying concealed or barricaded, either at their own homes, in the houses of such friends and dependents willing to harbour them, for the edict of destruction still in full force.

In instances, where a desperate resistance expected from them, no opportunity given for a defence, for combustibles to, and the places of refuge burnt, with every soul that

in them. Whilst in others, among these petty sieges, the soldiers preferred the risk of their lives (of which many were sacrificed) to the loss of their plunder, Mameluke property whatever being left to their discretion, and abandoned to them; —a licence which they abused, and construed so largely in some instances, that the dwellings of quite indifferent persons were pillaged and destroyed*.

Mongin gives an instance of this, vol. i., p. 365, in which the aggressors were put to death for it by the Governor's order; and says that the pillage was put a stop to by Tossoon on the *third* day, after five hundred houses had been sacked or destroyed.—p. Speaking of the women of the Mamelukes, he tells us, "Les Turcs, qui pouvaient épouser que femmes d'une classe inférieure, voyaient déplaisir que celles d'un plus haut rang dédaignent leur alliance, témoignaient l'empressement lorsqu'il s'agissait d'épouser Mamlouk. Ils eurent la bassesse de se venger, dans cette occasion, d'une sexe sans défense."—p.

The work of rapine lasted six days; and, though present at many of these scenes, with a comrade of mine, I bore little part in them, and shall hardly be accused of having my hands on a very large share of plunder, when I mention that, with the exception of a saddle, which I brought home, richly mounted in silver gilt—a piece of magnificence in great estimation with the Beys,—and a slave girl that had belonged to one of them, I took advantage of the permission given to make prize of whatever was found in their houses.

The girl was young and pretty, and, as it happened, did not come empty-handed, for she had contrived to secrete about her some trinkets and money from the harem which she had belonged to.

I lodged her at first in the house of a

acquaintance of mine in middle life, and there went often to visit her ; but, by-and-by, a proclamation coming out from the citadel, that such soldiers should deliver up any women taken from the Mamelukes should receive the full equivalent in money, I consulted my little slave, and gave her her choice ; to which she answering that she preferred to continue with me, I so pleased with her, that I determined on making her my wife, and married accordingly after the Turkish form, which is purely a civil contract.

I could, however, only pass the alternate weeks with my bride, for the great encampment of the Mecca expedition, which I belonged, was the village of Matarieh*, some miles the northward

* Anciently Heliopolis. little lake,

the city, and I was required to duty every days in every fourteen.

The tents there were rendered very insecure and uncomfortable by the system of pilfering from them during the night, carried on by the natives, which had arrived at such a pitch, that nothing was safe from them; and the loss and annoyance were of such serious inconvenience, that our commander-in-chief, Toosoon Pasha, was induced to resort to very strong measures, and setting a high reward upon the head of every thief taken, dead or alive, had it cried through the camp.

Such an incitement, over and above the desire of protecting their own property,

al-Hadje (from which being the usual rendezvous of the Mecca pilgrimage is starting), is in the neighbourhood, at the point by which Mengia designates the camp.

—Vol. i., p. 375.

had the effect of keeping the troops much upon the alert; and as the pilferers were very numerous, and ~~the~~ risks, many ~~in~~ in one way ~~or~~ another secured, and impaled near the spot, for the sake of example. But so inveterate ~~was~~ the habit ~~in~~ that period, that, in spite of all possible vigilance and severity, depredations still went on, and valuables were purloined, sometimes from under the heads, and even almost off the bodies of the sleeping soldiery.

The reader has already seen, within my ~~own~~ personal experience, two examples of the effrontery with which theft ~~was~~ often carried on; but there is ~~an~~ instance that ~~was~~ then in every body's mouth, and ~~which~~ ~~has~~ have happened in the year before that of which I am ~~now~~ speaking, that although I have ~~not~~ enough to make ~~it~~ credit it,

yet far surpasses ■ that ever fell within my own observation, and is so singular, that, though it be only from hearsay, I am disposed ■ relate it*.

While some of the Mamelukes ■■ encamped about Minieh, a thief set his mind upon carrying off the horse and wearing-apparel of one of their Beys, and with this intention contrived, in the dead of the night, to creep, unperceived, within the tent, where, ■ it ■■ winter time, embers ■■ burning, and shewed the rich clothes

* Among the notes of the *Historiques et Geographiques* of Mengin, is one entitled *Volcurs Arabes*.—
 " L'adresse des volcurs Arabes étoit passée en proverbe parmi les troupes de l'expédition Française: on ne peut lui comparer que l'audace de ces mêmes hommes;" and ■ proceeds to say, that they would carry off the arms ■■ sides of the officers while sleeping, and get through the walls of houses, and do other ■■ that greatly resemble, and quite equal, some of those to be found in this narrative.—Vol. i., p. 441.

of the Bey lying close ■ hand. The thief, ■ he squatted down by the fire, drew them softly to him, and put them all on ; and then, after filling ■ pipe, and lighting it, went deliberately to the tent door, and, tapping ■ groom, who ■ sleeping near, with the pipe end, made a sign to him for the horse, which stood piquetted in front. It was brought—he mounted—and rode off.

On the morrow, when the clothes of the Bey could nowhere be found, none could form ■ conjecture as to what had become of them, until the groom, ■ being questioned, maintained to his fellow-servants that their master was not yet returned from his ride, and told them how he had suddenly called for his horse in the night,—which ■ last seemed to give some clue ■ what had really happened.

Upon this, the Bey, anxious to recover his horse, as well as curious to ascertain the particulars, ordered it to be published abroad, that if the person who had robbed him would, within two days, bring back the horse taken, he should not only be freely pardoned, but should receive also the full value of the animal and of the suit of clothes.

Relying on the good faith of this promise, and possibly, too, not a little vain of his exploit, the Arab presented himself, and brought his booty, and the Bey also, on his part, punctually kept his word ; but since, besides the loss, there was something in the transaction that placed the Bey in rather a ludicrous light, it was hard with him to let the rogue depart so freely, and he seemed to be considering what he should

do ; so that, to gain time, he was continually asking over and over again fresh and circumstantial accounts of in which the stratagem had been conducted : the other too crafty not perceive that good might be preparing for him, and began to feel anxious to get safe out of the scrape ; he shewed no impatience however, but entered minutely into every detail, accompanying the whole with a great deal of corresponding action, at one time sitting down by the fire, and making believe though he slyly drawing the different articles of dress, and throw the Bey himself and all who and heard him into fits of laughter. When he last what concerned the horse, " It was," he said, " brought me, and I leaped upon his back ;" and so

in effect flinging himself again into the saddle, and spurring the flanks sharply with the stirrup-irons, he rode off, with all the money that he had received for the animal in his pocket, and had got much too far during the first moments of surprise for any of the bullets to take effect that were fired at him in his flight, and nothing further was heard of him or the horse.

The nightly instances of pillage in our camp happened sometimes under circumstances of scarcely less impudence and hazard, though they might not present any thing quite so entertaining to the reader; and we were so constantly receiving fresh warnings to be upon guard, that last the watching for thieves became an essential and prominent part of

military duty, and the numbers caught or killed were very considerable.

Among so many victims of our vigilance, there was one, at least, who was innocent, and I regret to add that he fell by my hand.

It was my week of service, and I occupied, with the six soldiers who were under me, a tent that stood a little apart from most of the others; here, one morning before daylight, while the rest were sleeping, I got out of bed, and was keeping watch, when the Binbashee, or serjeant, of the tent that happened to be the nearest to us, having gone softly forwards from it to a short distance (as it was his constant practice an hour before sunrise), was there kneeling, and silently saying his prayers, a custom so little general, and

specially ■ that hour, among soldiers, but I do not recollect to have seen it observed by any other, either before ■
ince.

All that I could discern ■■ what seemed human form, crouching towards the round, and occasionally moving, for there ■ not light enough to distinguish the precise posture, much less the identity of ■ person.

My mind, strongly prepossessed with ■ idea of thieves, entertained ■ doubt all that this must be ■■ of them, and erefore reaching for my loaded gun as quietly as I could, I discharged it ■ the object. It took effect in a mortal part, ■ the poor ■■ upon ■ face with it ■ groan. I instantly ran forward, with my sabre in my hand, to make a

trophy of his head, and so to secure my reward from the commander.

But what was my astonishment and horror, when I found that, instead of a robber, I had killed my friend and fellow-soldier ! Bitterly I cry over his body, and was at first so engrossed by the remorse and grief which I felt for the rash act, that I never once thought of the dangers to which it would expose me. My conscience, it is true, could reproach me with no malice or ill intention, but yet I could find no excuse for my impetuosity and want of thought.

No sooner was day-light, than the fact became known to all the camp, some relating it in one way, and some in another ; and, as the proverb is often that which is most believed, it was by many looked

ceded that, where there was ill-will, there could be crime, I went back to my comrades, humbled, indeed, in my eyes, and heavy at heart, but without the stigma of any reprimand or punishment.

But this acquittal on the part of Tossoon Pasha, and of all his staff, was not enough to screen me from further consequences; for the poor serjeant had relatives and friends in our army, who felt it full right, and expressed a fixed determination, to have blood for blood,—a notion of retaliatory justice which is deeply rooted in the minds of the Albanians; and the circumstance of my being known to be a stranger, and without connexions in the country, while it increased their inveteracy, tended also to make them safer in their purpose;

so that I found myself in the continual risk of being assassinated; upon which I had again recourse to Tossoun Pasha, who, seeing at once the full extent of my danger, took me under his protection, and, sending for those persons, agreed to pay to them, in satisfaction*, a sum of some thousand piastres, on condition that they should desist from all further pursuit of me.

It is, indeed, almost impossible for me to paint in sufficiently strong colours the amiable qualities of this son of Mahomet Ali;—kind, generous, humane, and affable, he conciliated the esteem and affection of all who approached or served under him.

* This satisfaction or atonement is termed *Dyak*. Mengin mentions that 4000 piastres were paid, in a sum which the Pasha himself had undertaken the mediation, to the brother of an Albanian *binbashee*, who had been killed at Cairo in an affray with the Franks.—Vol. i., p. 131.

Nay, he was capable of doing good to his very enemies, of which the instances were not unfrequent just at that time; for it happened, long after the general massacre, that here and there lurking Mameluke were hunted out and surprised by the soldiery, and put to death, and his fellows had been before him. In such cases, the family, deprived of that they had depend upon, would almost invariably and throw themselves at the feet of our young commander; many even bringing with them the headless bodies of husbands or fathers to confirm their tale, and move him to pity; and in no instance did he turn away from their entreaties, withhold what relief was in his power;—he protected and provided for the widows, and became a father to the orphan chil-

dren: ■ that whatever stain some may have contracted from those ■ of blood, his ■ part in them ■ ■ other than that of mercy and compassion*.

Though I have already dwelt painfully long in this chapter upon ■ of a very opposite character, yet there is one which perhaps I ought ■ to omit, since I ■ an eye-witness of it, and ■ it is characteristic of the time, and of the condition of the country up to the very moment of our departure.

As I was going one evening towards the city ■ some Albanian comrades, ■ met ■ man ■ the road, whom, for ■ ■ they mistook ■ first for ■ Mameluke, and

† Mengin, in speaking of the massacre, says of Tussoon, "qui ne prit aucune part en ce qui se passait."—Vol. i., p. 262.

seized him ; but it was made clear to them immediately afterwards that he ■■■ ■■■ so, and they let him go. Upon this, the man, who ■■■ been roughly treated, used high language, and abused them, they threatening him in return ; and I, who well knew how short ■ interval there is between menace and bloodshed with those who have their arms always ■ their girdle, and how small account the Albanians make of the life of a man, did all that I could to keep matters quiet, and to turn them aside, but I could not. From words they proceeded first to blows ; and then, taking to their weapons, ■ put an end to the poor stranger.

Horried ■ the cowardice and cruelty of the act, I withdrew myself from them instantly, and hastened away ; but I learned

afterwards, that they proceeded to cut the head off, and, representing it as a Mameluke's, got the reward.

As for those who had been driven out into Nubia, they were very restless, and desirous of making fresh incursions into Egypt, which obliged Ibrahim Bey still to keep a very large force with him in the Upper Province; from whence, after repelling every attempt at invasion, he followed them up into the country which they had occupied, and there worsted them so much in various encounters, as to oblige them at length to retire farther southward, to the city of Dongola, of which, after assassinating the native sovereign, they made themselves masters, and maintained the dominion there for about years.

Such is a slight picture of the state of Egypt, externally and internally, about the time when we were preparing to set out for Arabia; for six months had passed away from the time that we were first encamped; and in daily expectation of receiving marching orders: preparatory to which, all the troops received the pay of three months in advance, and the task devolved upon me of providing what would be necessary by the way, as well for the six privates under my charge, as for myself.

I therefore put my affairs in order at Cairo, and took leave of my wife, whom I left there decently lodged.

The details of the march, and the campaign that followed upon it, will be better reserved for another chapter.

III.

Suez—Voyage on the Red Sea—Siege and capture of Yambo—Wells dug and fortified—Heat—Insects—Scorpions—Battle and defeat at Bogas—Flight of the army and of the author—Embarkation at Mobrek—Return to Yambo—Reviews—Reinforcements—Sickness of the Author—He returns by Cairo.

THE march of the army on the Mecca expedition was gradually commenced*, a division setting out every day, and so, within no long space of time, the whole force, including as well such troops as were drawn off from remoter parts of Egypt, as those from the capital and immediate

* According to Mengin, vol. i., p. 375, Tossoon Pasha, by his father's orders, gave the signal for departure from the camp at El Hadji on the 11th of October, 1811.

neighbourhood, was assembled [REDACTED] the place appointed for [REDACTED] general rendezvous, upon the [REDACTED] of the [REDACTED] Sea, not far from the little [REDACTED] of Suez*.

Here they found, for the most part, vessels prepared to convey them [REDACTED] Yambo †, which [REDACTED] the point upon the Arabian shore fixed on for their landing; but it would be indispensable for them to touch here and there by the way, for the sake of water and provisions.

* Mahomet Ali had got ready eighteen vessels in ten months on [REDACTED] Sea.—*Mengin*, vol. i., p. 343.

† I have thought it [REDACTED] retain the [REDACTED] spelling, though the author always writes [REDACTED] Lembi, Ali Bey Jenbon, and Mengin Janbo, who represents [REDACTED] as having been in danger from the Wahabees so early as 1804, when a special firman from [REDACTED] Porte [REDACTED] received in Egypt for sending 500 men [REDACTED] its protection; but [REDACTED] particulars of this siege, described in the text, seem very incorrectly given by him. [REDACTED] is a view of Yambo, [REDACTED] print in Ali Bey's Travels.

I shall say nothing of the remainder of the army in their transit, but confine myself ■ the vessel which I myself ■ on board, which being in less readiness than most of the others, and the ■ for ■ barkation of my company being one of the last, by far the greater part sailed before us.

The figure and construction of all the larger craft at Suez differ totally from anything European. The hull is large, and of ■ awkward appearance, and is furnished with only one mast, to which yards and sails of different figures are adapted, according to the circumstances of the different winds to which that perilous navigation is subject; add to this description the most lazy ■ of sailors imaginable, ■ the reader has then a very just picture of a

transport on the Red Sea.—This species of vessel is called ■ dao*.

We got under way immediately, with ■ fair, though ■ very faint breeze; but this did not befriend ■ long, for ■ soon reached ■ point which is remarkable for the furious gusts to which it is almost ■ continually subject.

The superstition of the neighbourhood ascribes it to ■ supernatural, ■ any physical cause; for this being, according to received tradition, the spot where the chosen people under Moses passed over,

* There is ■ sketch and the dimensions given of a dao, in Ali Bey, vol. ii, p. 31, (where it will perhaps ■ observed ■ bear more resemblance to the ships of the ancients, than any other now in use :) ■ says, in his description of it, "the daos carry three sails of various sizes, to use on different occasions, and two little smack sails, for they never make use of more than one at a time."

the ignorant imagine that, since it is also here that the host of Pharaoh was swallowed up, their restless spirits still remain at the bottom of the deep, and are continually busied in drawing down mariners to their destruction; a notion received among all the seafaring people along that coast, that it would be quite in vain to argue against it *.

* Bruce says, "The large bay of Birbet Faraoun is so called from being, according to Arab and Egyptian tradition, the place where the Israelites crossed the sea, and where the returning waves overwhelmed Pharaoh and his host. There is almost a continual motion in the water of this bay, which they say is occasioned by the spirits of the drowned still moving in the bottom of the sea; but which may also be ascribed to its being exposed on three sides to the sea, and to the sudden gusts of wind from the openings of the valleys. These circumstances, together with its shoals, render it very dangerous, and more ships have been wrecked in the bay of Faraoun, than in any part of the gulf of Tor, another proof, in the eyes of the Arabs, that the spirits dwell there."—*Travels in Syria*, p. 624.

In effect, so soon as we [REDACTED] abreast of the head-land in question, a most violent blast of wind seemed to rush down upon us as if it would upset the vessel; [REDACTED] which the [REDACTED] all fell to prayers. But there [REDACTED] no abatement of the danger till [REDACTED] had quite passed beyond the limits usually exposed to this singular and awful phenomenon, which is doubtless to be accounted for by [REDACTED] natural peculiarities of the place.

The next day we coasted the region of Mount Sinai, [REDACTED] celebrated in holy writ, and, touching there, took in water and provisions, which we began [REDACTED] be in need of already.

Beyond that the navigation becomes [REDACTED] ceedingly difficult and dangerous, reefs and shoals abounding in [REDACTED] directions, and the utmost circumspection being necessary to

avoid them; a sailor*, posted almost at the mast-head, employed in looking down from thence, shouting out how deep the water should be directed, he discerned greater or less depth from above. Both the wind and the water very calm at the time, and the latter so clear, that it was amusing to observe in the shallows what curious objects the bottom of that bay presents, where weeds and corals grow to such a size, and so disposed, that almost all have the appearance of groves and gardens.

We were holding our course also so near the beach, that I could distinguish the variety of large and beautiful shells up

* He was on the prow (not on the mast-head) that four or five persons stood in Ali Bey's voyage, and warned the sailors in the same manner by loud cries.—Vol. II., p. 33.

upon it, which furnish such ■ supply of mother-of-pearl to the markets of Arabia and Palestine*.

I ■■■■ much entertained with the sight of objects ■■■■ to me ; and the atmosphere was so pure that the eye could discern the minutest details of the landscape ■■■■ passed along, which sometimes opened to the arid and uninviting face of the interior country, and sometimes shewed no more than the bounded strip of cultivation along the coast.

Whilst these ■■■■ in succession ■■■■ beguiling the tediousness of the voyage, all at ■■■■ vessel struck upon ■ sand-bank, which caused ■ great and general

* At Jerusalem it is much used for chaplets, and the carving of small figures of saints, and for ■■■■ inlaying of crucifixes. At Mecca, chaplets are also manufactured of it for the Mahometan pilgrims.

panic ■■■ board, and most of ■■■ giving ourselves up for lost; but, owing to a great degree of prudent inaction ■■■ the part of our captain and his crew, and still ■■■ the perfect ■■■ of calm which prevailed; ■■■ were enabled to continue stationary, till the tide ■■■ sufficiently to float ■■■ off from our perilous situation, and to permit us to pursue our course.

We touched for ■■■ at Ras Mahomet, and afterwards for provisions at Moyeleh*, the wind continuing fair all the while, and within a few days more anchored safely at Yambo.

To observe ■■■ order in my narrative, I should here mention that the cavalry

* Moyeleh is just within the opening of the gulf of Akaba, and answers to the ancient Pheniceon. There is a print of it in ■■■ Bey, the 68th plate.

belonging to ■ ■ ■ expedition had not been embarked, ■ ■ ■ of the infantry were, but made their way round by land with ■ ■ ■ commander-in-chief, Tossoon Pashà, and had reached the place of destination before us, as well ■ the ■ ■ ■ part of the fleet of transports; ■ ■ ■ that ■ found some attempts against the enemy had actually been already made, though without any ■ ■ ■ of success; nor could any indeed have been reasonably expected, since the force had been hitherto straggling and incomplete, a large detachment of infantry, for whom the number of vessels had not sufficed, arriving only from their fatiguing march just about the ■ ■ ■ time that ■ ■ ■ from my passage. Few, however, or none, ■ ■ ■ at last wanting to the ■ ■ ■ complement of the army ■ Yambo, to the infinite satisfac-

tion of ■ youthful ■ impetuous ■
manner.

The place itself occupies a position of ■ natural strength, and being fortified after the old fashion (though, as it is said, ■ ■ remote period) with walls and towers, has rather the appearance of a castle, than of a town, from the outside, the houses within being very low. It has a recently erected battery towards the sea, which was under the direction of an engineer in the service of the Sherriff of Mecca*. The

* The Sherriff Ghelib seems throughout to have acted a very double or vacillating part. ■ had assured Mahomet Ali of his co-operation, through Seyd Ahmed El Molla, sent as a spy ■ communicate with him.—Mengin, vol. i., p. 373. ■ appeared ■ Ali Bey, in his interview, to be from thirty-six to forty years of age, vol. ii. p. 57; and to be a man ■ sense, cunning, political, and brave, but completely ignorant.—p. 120.

Ali Bey represents Jemboa to have been, ■ time

inhabitants and garrison not themselves regular Wahabees, but, partaking altogether of the same views and interests, and implicated in the cause, they shewed a determination to resist, and to keep their gates shut against us, after persuasion and fair means had been tried in vain with them at first.

It being, however, quite indispensable to the progress of the campaign, that we should be masters of this maritime post in the first place, as well as of its little port, our musters were no longer complete than when regularly invested all round, the artillery playing briskly upon it from the land sides, and a bomb vessel built at Suez

of his visit, subject to the Sultan of Mecca, who appointed a governor there, with the title of Vizir, but he acknowledged the sovereignty of Saoud, chief of the Wahabee sect.—vol. ii. p. 161.

by Mahomet Ali for the purpose, doing its utmost to reduce it upon the other; but with all this activity ■■ could ■■ perceive that ■■ were advancing ■■ all towards ■■ object; and our young Pasha became ■■ exasperated by the obstinacy of the besieged, that he determined upon trying an assault.

His own personal energy and intrepidity of character had infused such spirit and emulation into the troops, that they waited only for the word, and shewed great impatience during the short delay requisite for the construction of scaling-ladders in sufficient number for mounting the walls.

On the other hand, those within ■■■■ quite aware of this, and so well prepared to receive us, that, notwithstanding the impetuosity and determination of the attack,

it may perhaps be fairly doubted whether it would have been successful, had it not been combined with the disheartening and irreparable loss which happened to them at the moment, in the death of their chief engineer, killed by a cannon ball from the bombarding vessel, which rendering their battery useless, and leaving them exposed upon that side, it became evident to them that their little town could not long hold out; yet they turned their views rather to retreat than surrender. The walls meantime were very well defended, but all of the inhabitants were actually employed with the garrison in the manning of them, were collecting and packing up and trying every thing that was precious and portable within, towards a small postern gate, called the Gate of Medina, from its opening in that direction.

The fortification upon that side had been scaled, and it was only towards nightfall that the soldiery began to gain any firm footing upon the other; upon which all at once, at a signal agreed upon amongst themselves, all the besieged fell back precipitately in the same direction, and got out of that gate which has been spoken of, cutting their way through the small number of assailants who happened to be posted thereabouts.

We thus became masters of almost an empty town; and though we soon found that the enemy had left us but little of any value, yet, according to Turkish custom, all falling immediately to pillage, the fugitives were pursued.

The next day, our Pasha, who had undergone the fatigues and dangers of the

siege almost like a common man, had a review of his troops, and sent off despatches to his father with the result of his operations.

After which, he remained quietly at Yambo for some time, without any fresh enterprise, the habits of Turkish warfare being naturally dilatory; but such a multitude of people in so small a place occasioned a great scarcity and dearth of provisions, and water failed entirely.

For there is none in that part of the country, excepting what is caught and kept in cisterns; and those in Yambo, having been constructed proportionably to the native population, were insufficient for the supply, first of such a garrison as had quitted it; and then for our large force, succeeding immediately after them.

tered about [redacted] [redacted] covertly in the neighbourhood.

Accordingly, after a stay [redacted] Yambo of three months, and leaving there [redacted] sufficient force, [redacted] set out in quest of them, taking the direction of Cara Lembi*. Where, [redacted] [redacted] approach, they united, and did all they could to fortify themselves, but [redacted] brought to an engagement, and defeated, so that the villages in their occupation fell into our hands, with whatever they had before saved, and carried off with them †.

Upon this [redacted] great many of their sect

* The taking of Janbo de Terre is mentioned by Mengin, vol. i., [redacted] 377. †

† Il soumettait les villages de l'alentour; le cheykh de la tribu [redacted] Gahsynch, séduit par ses présents, l'aide de toute [redacted] influence: c'était la véritable manière de traiter [redacted] les Arabes, que l'argent rend dociles, [redacted] que la contrainte éloigne.—*Mengin*, vol. i., p. [redacted]

threw themselves on the victor's mercy, (being for the most part landed proprietors, who were unwilling to risk their substance hazarded in the chances of war,) and their submission was taken in good part, Tossoon promising protection to them, and even honouring them with presents.

Others fled up into the neighbouring mountains, and remained lurking there, but were subject to continual annoyance from the parties, who sallied out upon adventures, and carried off their women or their cattle.

But by far the largest proportion of the vanquished re-assembled, and took post at a most important and defensible pass through that same chain, called Jedeed Bogaz *, and were there fortifying them-

* Jedeed Bogaz signifies in Arabic the new open-

selves, and preparing the most obstinate resistance.

During the interval our army all encamped about the village (or villages rather) of Cara Lembi, but in a of great discomfort : for the quantity of scorpions such, that most of the soldiers were stung by them in their tents, and such the virulence of their poison, that many died almost immediately, and kept so much upon the alarm, that they would prefer climbing up into the palm-trees, there to pass the night.

Other reptiles and insects also abounded in the proportion ; and the season being remarkably hot, condition could

ing, — pass. more common simply Djideeds (the new) ; it is represented 65th plate of Ali Bey. Mengin writes Goudoydeh.— Vol. ii. p. 27.

hardly, in possibility, be than it

Tossoon Pasha seeing this, and judging also that further delay would only be giving time to the enemy for the further increase and improvement of their works, resolved to make the attempt of dislodging them at once, or of bringing them to battle, since, long as they should maintain themselves in their present position, they must command the road to Medina, and cut off from the Egyptian army all prospect of reaching it: for Jedeed Bogaz is a defile of very natural strength, the through it being not wider in some parts than just sufficient to let about men pass abreast betwixt the bases of two high and steep mountains, so that a very small number might maintain it against a whole host.

There were, however, at ■■■ time, ■■■ less than 2500 Wahabees collected there ■■■ defend it; and, though posted there so recently, they had made such good use of their time in building up rude breastworks of loose stones on the sides of the precipice, to protect them as they fired, that they could be very little exposed to ■■■ musketry; and as for our artillery, from the nature of the ground, we should ■■■ be able to make any use of that, or to bring it ■■■ all to bear upon them.

These disadvantages ■■■ not unforeseen, but since every hour must obviously increase them, when ■■■ the enterprise had been decided upon, a very early day was fixed for the march from Cara Lembi.

When it arrived, and the ■■■ ■■■ struck, before ■■■ had yet moved from the

spot, Tomsou Pasha made a long and effective speech, pointing out that the expulsion of the enemy from Jedeed Bogaz was one of primary necessity, and, in fact, upon which the whole issue of the war depended, for that without it no hope could be entertained of penetrating to those holy cities, whose deliverance was the object which had brought them from their homes, and which had inspired

* Mungin says, "Toussou Pacha donna des éloges aux troupes sur les succès qu' il avoient obtenus à l'ouverture de la campagne. ■ Jasse de Terre il se porta ■ Bedr."—vol. i., p. 377.

Janbo de Terre is the place called in ■■■ Cara
Lembi, and by Ali Bey, Yanboea on Nabal, Janbo of
■■■ Palms. Addresses from the generals to ■■■ troops
seem to be very customary in Turkish warfare. Mengin
alludes to them more than once, and in a moment of
great distress before Derayeh, says, "Prévoyant que sa
position rendrait Fennemi plus audacieux, ■■ qu'il ne
manquerait per de faire ■■ sortira, Ibrahim ■■■ avait
harangué énergiquement ses troupes."—vol. ii, ■■ 125.

that zeal and determination which had already proved irresistible at Yambo and Cara Lembi; and if we could for ~~one~~ moment lose sight of its importance, ~~we~~ were unworthy both of the name of true believers, and of the fame which ~~the~~ Egyptian army had acquired!—He mentioned also that he had received letters from his father, not only extolling our success at Yambo, but speaking also of the enthusiastic joy which the news had spread among our families and friends ~~in~~ Cairo. “How inconsistent, therefore,” he continued, “as well ~~as~~ base would it be, should you blight by your future conduct all these rejoicings and expectations that have been excited ~~at~~ home! We have but to proceed in ~~our~~ course, to march, and to conquer, and to become, not in name only, but in fact, the redeemers of Mecca!”

Those who caught his expressions delighted with them, and they repeated from one to another through the army, in which all had been captivated by his earnest countenance and action as he spoke, so that any call had a greater effect; and it was answered by a display of the utmost ardour and enthusiasm.

The march was commenced immediately afterwards, and was very long on the first day, and still longer on the second, which brought us in the evening to Bedrionin*, a village where it has been the custom with

* This place is called simply Bedr by Mengin, who celebrates its ruins and gardens, (the attractions, no doubt, used to detain pilgrims there.) It was first taken, it appears, after an affair of about two hours with the enemy; in which, as it is not mentioned, our author, we may conclude, was not personally concerned.

the pilgrim caravans, for time immemorial, to make a halt during two or three days, in order to rest and refresh themselves. For our part, however, we did not remain in it a whole night; for, arriving there at dark, we went forward again soon after midnight, and, by a forced march, got to Jedeed Bogaz, and into sight of the enemy at daylight.

We halted not far from their position, on a comparatively level ground, rounded by very high mountains; and the troops were got into order, and the pitched there till further orders.

For, before I speak of the of our operations at Jedeed Bogaz*, I should, in

* This position, styled, in our text, Jedeed Bogaz, is designated by Mengin as being "en avant Safrâ".... p. 382; and the battle and distinguished by the same. There is, however, a great agreement in the

justice to our youthful general-in-chief, mention the precaution which he had taken on setting out upon this hazardous undertaking.

There were attached to the expedition a considerable number of small vessels on the Red Sea, which, so long as we remained at Yambo, and Cara Lembi, were kept at anchor off those places, to wait our movements and supply our necessities. As soon, however, as we proceeded to march farther onwards, they had orders to make for Mobrek, a place upon the coast, distant only three or four hours from the present scene of action, where they might

circumstances.—vol. ii., p. 27. Speaking of the same pass, Mengin says, "on alla camper sur les hauteurs, de Safrâ de Goudhyeh. Toussoun travailler de suite à la construction de deux forts à l'entrée et à la sortie des défilés."

secure us a retreat in case of any failure or disaster. And the necessity of such a retreat became the more evident, when, from an actual view of the country, it was ascertained that there was not a single tenable village in our rear which we could retire upon, should that, by any reverse, become necessary. All movements were therefore suspended, till intelligence should be received that our shipping had reached its destination; which was important, moreover, we having a store of provisions on board, that our distress might be felt in the army, should circumstances tend to detain us in the position we had taken, longer than we expected.

The wished-for tidings arrived, and became the signal for a general review, during which we could plainly distinguish the

enemy in great numbers upon * both the mountains in front of us, who seemed to look down upon us from thence with contempt, ■ confident in their own ■■■ rity.

Meantime we were again addressed with the highest encomiums on our former valour and good conduct; and the young Pasha declared himself to be quite ■ ready for the post of danger as any one amongst us; so as to be more willing to be considered, in this respect, our comrade than ■■■ commander.

The next day a signal ■■ given, and a partial skirmishing ensued, but with ■■■ loss upon our side than upon the other,

* Les Wahabys occupaient les défilés ■ le haut des montagnes; leur position paraissait inexpugnable.—
Mengie.

owing to the great disadvantage of the ground; and it was not till the third or fourth, that this desultory system of warfare was abandoned, upon its leading to no better results.

It had probably been undertaken and persisted in with the hope of drawing the adversary down; but when it was found quite ineffectual to this purpose, it had been at last determined to attack them in their redoubts on the morrow.

Before daylight, all were under arms: and, just at dawn, the order for advance was instantly and eagerly obeyed,—the whole mass pressing impetuously forward in order to force the position, and dislodge the Arabian army from both the heights, amidst a very sharp fire upon both sides; and not only the first united fire was tre-

mendous, but it ■■■ long and steadily ■■■ tained, the obstinacy upon the one part being equal to the daring upon the other, ■■ that the issue seemed to be very doubtful; Tossoon himself coming forward to encourage and animate his men, calling ■■ many of them individually by their names, and adjuring them, by their religion and their country alternately, ■■ he appealed to the names of Egypt and Mecca.

They needed no such spur; but yet, perhaps, it ■■■ not quite without its effect, for in that forenoon they did wonders; and, notwithstanding the steepness of ascent, and the incessant firing from above, gained possession here and there of several of the breastworks*; but these were again so com-

* "On donna l'assaut, les retranchemens furent emportés ■■ vive force."—*Mengis*.

manded by others, that they ■■■ of little service, and opened only ■■■ points for the aim of the Wahabees, who could pour their bullets down upon ■■ almost with impunity, and thus occasioned ■ most dreadful slaughter.

About mid-day, the sun grew so intensely hot, reflected from these arid mountain sides, that it became impossible for either party to persevere in active exertion, and there was a truce accordingly for several hours, during which most of ■■■ soldiery laid themselves down under the palm-trees, which grow there upon the lower levels in abundance; and which, besides the benefit of shade, furnished them also with a very acceptable supply of dates.

The cravings of thirst, however, became

intolerable, and could not be satisfied, (at least with by far the greater number,) there being ■ water that ■ knew of upon the field. So that the impatience of ■ present condition became great ; and the signal for action, given ■ about four o'clock in the afternoon, was received with a desperation that was like joy.

However, whether from weakness and exhaustion, or some other cause, the firing was ■ first neither very brisk, nor with much effect ; but the courage and spirits warmed afterwards, and the contest became much hotter ■ both sides than it had been in the fore part of the day.

The ferocity and the carnage are indescribable, and continued, with the issue still doubtful, till long after sunset ; for it had been night about two hours, when all

■ once some panic or disaster turned the fortune of the battle, and ■ were put completely to the rout.

There ■ a flight and ■ pursuit, but in such disorder * and confusion, nothing being to be discerned and distinguished, that many of the foremost of the Wahabees ■ killed by their own party amongst our troops, of whom a vast proportion perished at every step.

The miserable remnant that reached ■ camp with Tossoon found it quite untenable against ■ enemy master of the field, for it had neither trenches nor any sort of fortification about it; they halted, there-

* " On abandonna les tentes et les bagages, les soldats en fuyant, pillaient les effets de leurs chefs, les plus ■ s'emparaient ■ chevaux ■ plus foibles." " Plusieurs s'étant égarés au milieu ■ l'obscurité préféraient par ■ mains ■ Arabes."—*Mengis*, p. 383.

fore, only long enough ■ set fire to all the tents and camp equipage, abandoning * even the military chest in their haste ; and ■ refuge ■ hope seeming to be left for them but in the little squadron at Mobrek, fled precipitately thither, and embarked.

Some of the vessels remained stationary, and ■■ coasted to short distances, in order to pick up the stragglers ; signal-guns being fired ■ intervals to encourage them, and point out their direction ; ■ great number accordingly dropped in by little and little, during the two ■ three following days ; and the young Pasha,

■ “Cependant les Wahabys, croyant que la fuite des Turcs était une ruse préméditée dans le dessein de leur dresser des embûches, ne descendirent ■ leur camp que le lendemain, tandis que, ■■ les avaient poursuivis la veille, il n'en serait pas échappé un seul. Le biscuit, les munitions de guerre, ■ tentes, le bagage tombaient ■ leur pouvoir.”—*Mingis*, ■ 383.

who was himself on board, did what he could to animate and encourage their broken spirits; and he himself bore his ~~manly~~ manfully.

As for me, on the night of the defeat, before I ~~was~~ ~~of~~ of the turn that things had taken, I found myself, as well ~~a~~ comrade at my side, so enveloped and intermixed with the enemy, that it is almost a miracle how we extricated ourselves, and escaped alive. Cut off, however, from all our friends, after a most toilsome and perilous scramble, ~~we~~ gained ~~a~~ high and somewhat detached eminence, half dead with fatigue and hunger, and suffering ~~yet~~ yet ~~from~~ from thirst.

Scarcely ~~we~~ did ~~we~~ dare to stand upright, in order to look around us, for fear of being discovered; for we could still hear

cries and shouts in the distance, and fires kindling on many of the heights, which we judged could only be the work of the victors, whether as signals, or only to light them in their pursuit and observation of the fugitives, while a much wider expanse of flame lower down, and further off from us, pointed out the situation of our ill-fated camp.

Our predicament seemed almost hopeless, but since daylight would only increase the danger, and our present wants and sufferings were become intolerable, it seemed best to make once for that point, of which we had now ascertained the direction. It might, therefore, be about midnight when we descended, crawling upon all-fours, like animals; and so, in fear and trembling, passed several times almost close within

sight and hearing of those who were searching for stragglers, or stripping the bodies. We had the good fortune to reach the plain unobserved, and found our camp still glowing in its ashes, and consumed, with almost all that was in it; there were appearances that it had been partially plundered, but whoever had been there were now all withdrawn from it, the routed army for retreat, and the masters of the field, doubtless, for precaution, and fearing our stratagem during the night.

We laid hands on a few provisions which had escaped, or been abandoned for the seizure of the treasure, which had itself also been looked to with so little exactness in their moment of haste, that I picked up about four hundred golden pieces that were lying scattered upon the ground.

Parched and perishing as ■ ■■■■ ■ that moment, ■ single draught of ■■■■ would have been much more valuable to us; but this could nowhere be found*.

Fortunately, however, I happened to recollect ■ spring that lay distant about five miles from that position; ■ that, without taking further rest, we hurried to it with the utmost impatience, and after having drank, refreshed ourselves by bathing in it.

From thence, although to gain Mobrek ■■■■ ■■■■ object, it ■■■■ little better than ■■■■ chance that led ■■ to take the right direction, in which we afterwards overtook ■■ fell in with several of ■■■■ comrades, all quite as much at ■ loss ■■ ourselves.

■ L'armée turque comptait huit mille hommes : ■ moitié périt de faim et de soif à la suite de cette affaire.—*Mengin*, p. 384.

One knot of them was sitting despondently round the brink of ■ well, too deep for them ■ for ■ to reach the water by any contrivance that we could devise, though expiring with thirst; and ■ of the number, in the agony and despair occasioned by it, threw himself in, and perished before us all.

It ■ ■ daylight, and many tracks ■ discernible from this well, ■ that there was a great division of opinion which should be taken, and ■ of ■ separated; but that which I chose soon brought ■ into sight of the sea, and of ■ shipping, which ■ coasting very close ■ the beach. Weary and exhausted as I was, ■ found strength to run down; and there, in my impatience, threw myself into the water, and ■ on board one of the largest,

which, as it happened, was that in which Tossoon himself was embarked.

As he saw any cavalry arrive, after sending them refreshments ashore, he gave them orders immediately for Yambo; but in several instances we could see their poor horses, pressed by extreme thirst, push forward into the salt-water, and drink it till death was the consequence; though they thus become doubly precious, great numbers having perished in the skirmishes or the engagement, and in the havoc and rout that followed upon it. Only such, therefore, of the men as were dismounted were received into our little fleet, with the remains of the infantry, which, after full time had been allowed for collecting all who could be supposed to have escaped, was directed to steer for Yambo, that all might

be there concentrated, till time should be given for advices and fresh reinforcements from Egypt.

In this passage, of no great distance, ■ had to strive during three whole days against foul winds, along that difficult and dangerous coast ; ■ that provisions began to fail, and all were put upon a very short allowance ; the water particularly being reduced so low, that where I was, the young Pasha used to give it out himself, to prevent quarrelling and contentions for it ; ■ more than a single cup being measured out to each person during the day.

At last with great joy ■ got sight of Yambo ; and the garrison there, having heard of ■ disaster, made signals of welcome to ■ upon our return, and we felt great comfort ■ being once ■ united in safety. .

Here, after about a fortnight's rest, when there could ■ longer remain any hope of the re-appearance of such as ■■ still missing, a general muster and review took place—a melancholy spectacle, for, though the precise numbers that had fallen ■■ studiously kept from us, it was plain to be seen, at a single glance, that we were reduced at the least by ■ half*, and were, for the most part, almost without clothes or arms, more like peasantry than soldiers.

In the despatch, however, forwarded to Cairo, ■■ discomfiture, our wants, and ■■ losses, ■■ fully stated; and not only such reinforcements asked for from thence as should make good the deficiencies, but even a large augmentation of force, if any

* See ■■ extract from Mengin in ■■ 175, who also mentions Tossom's retirement with his troops to Yambo, till reinforcements should arrive.

good result was to be expected : so formidable a picture given of the Wahabees, both of their own valour, and the great strength and importance of the post which they had taken.

Thus crippled in our strength, and the troops themselves low in spirits and desponding, it was thought advisable to confine them very much to close quarters within the fortifications of the town ; small skirmishing parties did indeed occasionally sally out, and had little encounters with detachments of the enemy, but all that was considerable or decisive, did anything worthy of remark during nearly four months that were spent in that state of inactivity.

Yet long before the expiration of that time it became known that advices had

been received from Mahomet Ali, full of regret and disappointment at what had happened, but with strong exhortations, also, to fresh exertion towards wresting from XXXX opponents that mountain-pass which XXXX the key to the interior, and concluding with the promise of ample and immediate reinforcements, and supplies of whatsoever might be wanting.

Nor were we deceived in our expectations; for the new detachments began already to arrive, and in such numbers as to give quite new life and a XXXX appearance to the army, XX that it very XXXX after being XXXX necessary to quit the walls, and to encamp upon the outside, in order to find sufficient space; and XX resumed again XX appearance of military bustle and activity, with inspections and reviews, both of horse

and foot, going ■ daily,—Tossoon doing his utmost to train and harden his men before a fresh campaign, and to inure them ■ the endurance of heat and fatigue; while the soldiers ■ reviving gradually to ■ former pitch of courage and enterprise at the improved aspect of their numbers and condition, and were longing for their revenge upon the Wahabees; who, upon their side, as well aware of the increase of our force, as of the infinite importance of their ■ position, were not wanting in the provision of ■ of resistance, and in fortifying themselves, to the utmost of their power, with the construction of additional breastworks and batteries.

I mentioned that when, during the night of the defeat at Jedeed Bogaz, ■ reached

the spring of water, ■ ■ ■ imprudently not confined myself to drinking, but had also bathed in it. The consequence was, that from that time my whole frame became disordered, and I suffered the greatest torture from rheumatic pains; the want of clothes and of necessary comforts ■ confirming and increasing the complaint, that I was obliged to pass most part of my time within doors, without being able to take any share at all in the military evolutions, ■ the service of the garrison.

Perceiving myself, therefore, to be quite disqualified from prosecuting the next campaign, I thought of returning to Cairo, in order to attend to my health; but, since I could not compass this without obtaining leave from the general-in-chief*, I waited

* Those who, after the defeat, returned to Egypt

upon him to request it, explaining to him how in my present condition I had become quite disabled.

Tossoon Pasha was not much pleased with such a proposition, and at first flatly refused it, answering that not a single soldier could be spared from the army, while the safety and honour of Egypt were ■ stake, ■ they ■ were. But, continuing to plead my illness and incapacity (as I well might, since I was suffering at the very moment of speaking, and had had very little ■ during the last four ■ five months), he ordered me at length to be very

without leave, ~~was~~ very ill-received by Mahomet Ali, and with their officers ordered to return to Albania. — *Mengin*, vol. i., p. 388; who adds, in the same page, — En même temps, le gouvernement fit publier ~~qu'il y avait~~ ~~des~~ ~~quartiers~~ ~~de~~ la ville, que les soldats déser-teurs seraient arrêtés, dépouillés, et ~~mis~~ en prison; qu'ils ~~ne~~ pouvaient ~~être~~ racheter qu'à prix d'argent.

strictly examined by his European army-surgeons, who, in their report, confirmed my representation so entirely, that within four days afterwards, it ■■■ notified that I ■■■ to be conveyed to Suez, in some transports that ■■■ bound thither immediately.

Anxious ■ I was to recover my health, it ■■ yet a great mortification to me when I thought of leaving all my comrades, and ■■ honourable service, under a brave, though not ■ fortunate commander; and ■■ I turned them, in my mind, during the few intervening days, these reflections pressed ■■ much upon me, that I could not bear to go, without having first ■■ pressed to ■■■ young Pasha himself how much I felt them, and with how much real regret ■ ■■■ about to withdraw from him.

With this view, I watched my opportunity for a second audience, and found one in the forenoon, while all his principal officers were standing about him.

He now recognized me at first sight (which had not happened, I at least was not expressed in the former interview) I the person who had swam on board his vessel, and spoke very kindly to me, which gave me opening for calling to his recollection that I was under an earlier obligation to him, being the corporal whom he had bought off from an affair that threatened my life in Egypt,—a benefit never to be forgotten, and which greatly increased my regrets that bodily infirmity, just at this critical time, should disqualify me from serving him, but that my attachment and gratitude were unalterable.

He listened most condescendingly, and said that he doubted not, that, had it so pleased God, I should have continued to have served him well; and with that, after a small present had been ordered to be given to me, I was graciously dismissed.

In a few days I bade farewell to all my companions in arms, and was received into the transport that was to sail direct for the port of Suez, conveying, also, about forty other invalids, who, like myself, were on their return to Cairo.

My ill-fortune was not quite so here; for the winds were always contrary, and the currents of the Red Sea so violent in certain parts, as to retard our progress beyond all calculation; so that it was not till after forty days of the worst possible passage, that we cast anchor in safety.

The sight of Suez, however, turned me to reflecting how very few of those who had ■■■ out from thence with ■■■ would ever return at all, and made me sensible that I ought to feel grateful to Providence.

When landed, after staying a very few days to rest and refresh myself there, I made my journey to the capital.

CHAPTER IV.

The Author's Divorce—buys Horses for an English Officer—Mahomet Ali takes the Command in Arabia—Sheriff of Mecca—Regency—Letif Pasha—his Honours, and Conspiracy—besieged in his House, taken, and executed—Return of the Author to the Army—Siege and Capture of Confuta—the Author's post ■ ■ Well—Defeat there, and Flight—Confuta retaken—Lid—Mutinous Spirit.

WITH whatever eagerness I returned home, and to my wife, it was yet with the abatement of many misgivings, and a secret dread of domestic discomfort; for I had been absent but a very short time, when I received hints from friends of mine, resident in Cairo, that there were appearances of great levity of conduct, and that those with whom I had placed her ■■■ unwilling to

continue the charge; further inquiry upon the spot, tended rather to increase than to allay such suspicions; and her altered carriage towards me, seeming fully to confirm them, gave very great easiness: and it happened, that just at that time, a vessel, freighted from Albania for Alexandria, brought a letter addressed to almost at hazard, which, falling into the hands of a friend of mine, was immediately forwarded. I found that it was from Fatima; but how she had contrived to get it written, or directed, conveyed, I have learned: it is probable, however, that some of the crew of the merchant-ship which brought may have communicated afterwards with those searching for in Scutari, or the pistols which I presented to the captain may have been traced.

It is plain, however, that I ■ supposed to be alive, and in Egypt.

The letter ■ full of reproaches for having forsaken her, and informed me of the birth of a boy. Supposing, also, that my condition of life ■ the same ■ that in which she had last ■ me, a trifling present of linen ■ mentioned ■ being sent, which was, however, ■ delivered to me.

Such proofs of kindness and attachment called up so strongly the endearing images of a first passion, as ■ fortify ■ not ■ little in my present feelings of disgust, and to dispose ■ to the immediate remedy of a divorce ; to which my wife assenting, ■ both made ■ appearance before a person in authority in the law, to whom ■ certified our intention ; and she, receiving back

what had been settled on her ■ her ■■■■
riage, ■■ union ■■ declared to be dis-
solved.

Thus easily is this matter disposed of
among Mahometans, ■ ■■■■ ■ the parties
become indifferent to ■■ another ; and it
■■■ to be perhaps the only mode of pre-
venting those lamentable disorders which
abound in countries where matrimony ■■■
contracted becomes indissoluble.

Not that I have any desire to make a
panegyric upon Eastern customs ■■ morals,
for ■ know very well that the too great
facility with which divorce is there ob-
tained, tends to make wedlock lightly
thought of, and engaged in heedlessly, and
is attended with many inconveniences :
but still, I cannot help thinking, that where
divorce is attainable, under certain whole-

some restrictions, it may be of great practical advantage.

I will here quit my own personal narrative for a moment, ■ say ■ word on public affairs, and of what was passing in the city ■ that period.

Mahomet Ali ■ directing all his efforts and undivided attention to the ■ in Arabia, which was become doubly formidable, not only from the resolute conduct of the Wahabees themselves, but from the connivance and co-operation with them of the Sheriff of Mecca, artfully represented by him at first to be compulsory, but ■ more than suspected to be willing, and from private views of his own. He was known, indeed, to have no leaning to the tenets of the sectaries; but the war, while it weakened both parties, still left him with some

shadow of power; he might dread the too near neighbourhood of the Pasha of Egypt, and the effects of his becoming too strong.

It was not, therefore, reinforcement only that would be wanting, but a person of tried experience and conduct, to be associated with Tossoun in the command of the expedition; and, for this purpose, Mustapha Bey* was selected, his uncle by marriage, and sent with a body of cavalry to join him at Yambo.

Some months afterwards, however, the great Pasha himself, growing more and more anxious, and thinking that his own presence might best secure the

* "Oct. 1812. On l'armée d'Arabie de tous les renforts nécessaires en infanterie et cavalerie. Moustapha Bey, beaufrère du viceroi, recut l'ordre de partir avec un corps de Dehly."—*Mémoires*, vol. i., p. 100.

■ campaign, determined upon going in person : arrangements ■ therefore promptly entered into for the administration of affairs at home in his absence ; and all the disposable force collected for ■ panying him, ■ early day being fixed for his departure.

I shall not fail, in the sequel, to speak of his great successes in their place ; but must take up, in the ■ time, the thread of my ■ adventures where I dropped it for this digression.

After my divorce, ■ remained stationary and quiet for ■ little time, taking all precaution and remedies for conquering that rheumatic affection which had so long been troublesome and painful ■ me ; but I owe my recovery perhaps ■ than all, to the air and water of Cairo, which

have always agreed with ■■■ beyond all others.

So soon ■■ I felt myself quite restored, I disliked remaining idle, and became eager again for some active employment; and there arrived just then ■ captain of an English cavalry regiment, sent over by his government to purchase ■■■ Egyptian horses; he brought with him ■ suite of twelve dragoons, and was treated with great consideration, as he had strong recommendations to all the authorities.

I no ■■■■ heard of this stranger's ■■■ rival in Cairo, than I offered my services through ■ friend who had ■■■■ ■ him; and being found in ■■ interview ■■ be tolerably conversant with the business, he gave ■■ the commission to look out for horses of a certain standard, respecting

which ■ received ■ instructions, and agreed that I should have a scudo for every one that should be approved.

I succeeded in procuring for him, upon these terms, between thirty and forty, and received my pay accordingly; but he, ■ ing unwilling to part with me, pressed me to go down with him so far as Aboukir, where the whole stud (consisting not only of such ■ I had found for him, but of many others besides, collected by other agents) was to be embarked, and I made no difficulty in consenting.

But, before ■ set out, information having been received that the Arabs frequenting the district, through which we ■ to pass, had laid ■ plan for stealing the horses, it was thought advisable to apply to government, who appointed ■

escort of about fifty soldiers, and them responsible.

Notwithstanding which, in way Rosetta, we not only fell in with several lurking hordes, but attempts, in instance, actually made for carrying off their prey during the night.

We reached Aboukir, however, without any losses, and there put all safe on board; the officer, upon embarking himself, taking kind leave of me, and rewarding handsomely. It is matter of regret to me, that I am not now able to call his to mind, since I would willingly have coupled it with the expression of my grateful recollections*.

* I know as little as the author who this British officer was; it is probable that he may have been sent from Malta, or perhaps from Sicily.

During the time that I have been speaking of, not only had Mahomet Ali taken his departure, but the career of his successes [redacted] already begun; so that when [redacted] reached Cairo on my return, I found it [redacted] of public rejoicings upon that account. For it appeared that the Pasha [redacted] reached Lembi, than he carried forward his whole army at once to Jedeed Bogaz; and, finding it but feebly guarded, forced that pass, and sent a strong detachment through it to Medina, and then, turning himself to the coast, sailed for Djidda *.

* Mengin dates the landing of Mahomet Ali [redacted] Djidda (with a suite of only sixty persons) in August, 1813, but omits to speak of his previous landing [redacted] Jambo, and march to Jedeed Bogaz. It appears, from [redacted] count, [redacted] Tossoun and Mustapha Bey had [redacted] successes, and that Medina had been in their hands, [redacted] that all the country had since revolted from them, which was [redacted] object of the Pasha's now coming in person;

from whence he made his way to Mecca almost immediately, where the Sheriff, seeing the power of his late confederates or oppressors (be they which they will) so humbled, and the ascendancy of that great man, who had opened his gates, completely, thought it the wisest course to set them open, and to welcome him as a deliverer; and being left unmolested in his palace for some time after the occupation of the city, he began to flatter himself that his arts had succeeded.

But Mahomet Ali deceived the deceiver, for he laid a snare in a visit to which he invited him, and detained him as a close prisoner from that hour, which was the

and, indeed, so often the defile of Jedeed Bogar change hands, according to the circumstances of the war, that we find it once more in the hands of the Arabs subsequent to June, 1814.—*Mengin*, vol. ii., p. 27. .

end of all his crooked policy and intrigues*.

It is held to be a sort of sacred ordinance that, let the occasion be what it may, no ~~one~~ must lay violent hands ~~on~~ the Sheriff of Mecca, a forbearance due to the guardian and minister of the temple of the Prophet, and the chief of all his posterity.

Had this superstitious ~~idea~~ not existed, it can hardly be doubted that his head would have paid the forfeit of those relations which he had held with the enemies of the Porte †, and of his ~~own~~ double-

* Tossoon ~~was~~ the person who carried ~~the~~ plan into effect, and secured his person, according ~~to~~ Mengin, pleading (and actually exhibiting) an order from the Porte.—vol. ii, p. 3.

† Ali Bey says, "The Sultan Scherif was the natural and immediate sovereign; notwithstanding which, the Sultan of Constantinople ~~was~~ acknowledged there ~~as~~ supreme monarch, and mention was made of him in this

dealings; but the maxim ■■■ scrupulously adhered to, and his life spared, or reserved, ■■ least, for the will of the Sultan.

He was sent off to Cairo under a strong escort*, and there lodged in the immediate custody of those three persons ■■ whom the administration of the government had been principally committed, as a sort of regency, Ibrahim Bey, ■■ Pasha, the Albanian, and the Kisha Bey (who had, moreover, specially the ■■■

quality in the sermons upon Fridays, even whilst Sahoud (the Wahabee) was reigning in the country with his troops.—vol. ii., p. 123.

* According to Mengin, vol. ii., p. 4, he was embarked at Djidda, and thence carried across to Copeir, and so ■■ Nile. ■■ arrived at Old Cairo, December 4, 1813. The Kishah Bey himself received him and lodged him as ■ sort of state-prisoner in his brother's house; ■■ whence, ■■ receipt ■ an order respecting him from the Porte, he was sent to Salomonica, where he died.

mand of the citadel): they directed to forward the prisoner to Constantinople, warned, that, since his person was of infinite importance, the charge should be consigned only to such hands as could be implicitly depended upon. A Mameluke of the Pasha's household * was, therefore, pointed out by name in his despatch, as a proper person to be entrusted.

Since, however, it was not commanded that this removal should be immediate, the Regency, exercising a discretion, judged it best that the Sultan should have previous notice both of the great news from Arabia, and of the state-prisoner's arrival, that pleasure might be known respecting him; and the Mameluke in question ap-

* He had the office of "Anaktâr Aghani," treasurer, or privy-purse, to the Pasha.—*Mesgin*, vol. ii., p. 9.

pointed ■ that mission accordingly *, which ■ punctually and ably discharged, and Salonica named by the Porte ■ the place of exile for the Sheriff.

So gratified had the Ottoman court been at the intelligence, and ■ the ■ of its delivery, that presents and honours were showered in profusion upon the bearer of it, who returned from thence ■ Pasha of two Tails, with the name of Letif Pasha,

* Mengin dates Latif's mission to Constantinople earlier, and represents it as being for the delivery of ■ keys of Medina.—vol. ii., p. 397. The account, however, of his proceedings at Cairo which gave umbrage—of the defence of his house—escape—and execution, agrees in ■ material circumstances, and in ■ very minute ones, with the text.—vol. ii., pp. 6, 7, 8. A prediction is also mentioned, that a ■ said ■ have made to him of his being destined to the sovereignty ■ Egypt. Is it not most likely that he was in reality suspected of holding ■ secret correspondence with the Porte, which had conferred on him such disproportionate honours?

placed in a situation to make a great figure.

Such a leap from the condition of a simple Mameluke, soon quite turned his head, and he seemed to forget altogether both his origin and his obligations to those who had raised him, although a recent.

His insolence to a became intolerable, and towards inferiors he was guilty of many abuses of power.

Proceeding onwards in his folly from one step to another, he not only disgusted, but even seemed to set himself in open opposition to those three chiefs who a invested with his master's authority; his house became the known rendezvous of all the dissatisfied and discontented; and several of the small and obscure remnant of the old Mamelukes b observed to be in his con-

fidence : with such symptoms as these, that ■■■ plot ■■ fomenting there can be no sort of doubt, though its nature, extent, and object might ■■■ be so precisely known, but personal ambition ■■■ to have been ■ the bottom of it, and those who exercised the deputed power could hardly have been dispossessed, without the project of deposing the Pasha also. Yet it seems ■ unaccountable instance of infatuation and temerity that quite a ■■ man, without any strong ■■ definite party formed in the state, should think such attempts within his reach, and thus in a ■■■ wantonly commit himself.

Foolish, however, and unadvised as the prime ■■■ of the mischief seemed to be, such ■ conspiracy might yet become very formidable if suffered to ripen, and especially

in the absence of the ruler. Much credit is therefore due to the vigilance and promptitude of the Kiayah Bey (governor of the citadel), who, calling ■■■■ colleagues together, laid the crisis before them, and ■■■■ recommended that strong and sudden ■■■■ should be taken for seizing the person of Letif the next day; ■■■■ which both of them assented, and Ibrahim personally undertook the charge.

The delinquent was known to be too well upon his guard, and with much too numerous a retinue about him, to be taken without the risk of a strong resistance; in which it had been determined to lay regular siege, and that neither his house, treasure, nor person should be spared.

Accordingly Letif's residence was invested, before daylight, with a large force ;

and he, with his Mamelukes about him, prepared for a gallant defence—a brisk fire being opened and continued upon both sides, which threw the whole city into sternation and commotion; and since it seemed to be a sort of signal for tumult and party violence, it was made a pretext for many outrages in other quarters of the town.

After many hours of obstinate resistance from within, the soldiers of Ibrahim Bey prevailed at last, and forced their way, seizing upon everything that into their hands, whether arms, moveables, treasure, slaves, &c. But Letif Pasha nowhere to be found.

This caused the greatest disappointment and uneasiness, since, without the possession of that person, nothing had been done. The

furniture, the floors, and even the very walls, were torn to pieces in the search after him, till it became evident that no hiding-place was left: the closest watch, however, was still kept, and every possible inquiry made, but in vain.

He had, when it afterwards appeared, leaped from the terrace-roof of his house upon terraces adjoining, and so had contrived to get access unobserved to the oven of a neighbour, in which he had secreted himself, with two of his faithful Mamelukes.

Ibrahim Pasha, surprised and mortified that he was, at not being able to discover him, yet felt confident that he could not possibly be far off, and went therefore himself with his guard in quest of him through all the houses of that quarter; and it did so happen that he actually passed

close in front of the very oven in which lay the object of all his anxiety; but it appearing a place in which any one could lie, he did not stop to examine it. He had, however, taken the precaution to station soldiers in every spot which he had visited; and the outhouse in which was this oven, fell to the charge of one of his Albanians.

The conclusion of the adventure was sufficiently remarkable, for Letif Pasha, perceiving that it would be quite impossible to elude this sentry, posted so near him, resolved to try the effect of a bribe; and so he came forward of himself from his hiding-place, the other making ready at the same time to seize him.

The offer was ready and at hand—a ring upon his finger, of immense value which so dazzled him that he tempted the Alba

nian, that he took it, and suffered the fugitive to go his way, with his two attendant Mamelukes, who were faithful to the last.

They had not, however, gone far, before they were seen by some of the other soldiers, and instantly secured by them—a service that was handsomely rewarded by the government, which ■■■ thus freed from a great uneasiness; and there was, indeed, a very general rejoicing when the capture ■■■ known.

Nothing now remained but the arrangement ■■■ for a public execution, which, for the sake of example, had been resolved upon, and the citadel fixed upon as the scene; ■■■ that this ■■■ within the department of the Kiayah Bey, who ordered that all the way thither should be lined with troops under arms, and the prisoner marched through

them, under ■ escort, in ■ ■ of barba-
 ■ triumph, which occupied ■ time;

When he had reached the spot appointed for his execution, ■ firmness and manli-
 ■ forsook him; and ■ he heard his ■
 ■ pronounced, and the signal ■ for
 his death-blow given, he made ■ last effort
 to obtain mercy in catching hold of the
 governor's sword-knot, who stood near him,
 and grasped it so fast, that the fingers could
 never be disengaged; so that it ■ cut
 through in order to ■ him ■ few
 paces to a flight of steps that ■ near,
 where his head ■ struck off, which I
 afterwards ■ exposed at the gate*.

Such ■ the miserable end of Letif
 Pasha, who died very little lamented by

* Bâb el Zoweyleh. *Mongin.*

any body; and I heard afterwards that Mahomet Ali expressed himself highly satisfied that a ■■■■ ■■ ■■■■ so ungrateful and ■■ dangerous had been put out of the way.

These transactions had, during a short interval, called off the attention in Cairo from the Arabian campaign; but recruits ■■■■ still in demand, for not only the important cities now in our hands required large garrisons, but a formidable force still kept the field against us, and there ■■■■ many strong places of inferior note to be reduced; consequently bodies of troops ■■■■ sent off almost daily, ■■ fast as they could be collected and enrolled.

I ■■■■ myself already beginning to be weary of a life of inactivity; and the news of the successes, and the sight of these

large levies, inspired ■■■ with a strong desire of again entering the service, which (as I ■■■ seldom long in forming my ■■■■ lutions) I did almost immediately, in a corps of Albanians that was just upon the point of setting out *.

I shall say nothing of our march to Suez, or voyage from thence by sea, since it would be simply a repetition; for ■■■ touched only at the usual points for supplies in the passage to Yambo, from whence we sailed for Djidda, which ■■■ reached in

* Mengin, vol. ii., p. 16, speaks of this reinforcement of Albanians, in the early part of 1814, and of the taking of Konfodah, p. 17, to besiege which ■■■■ Oglou, governor of Djidda, as he styles him, was sent, with ■■■■ infantry and ■■■■ cavalry. This, therefore, ■■■ the force found there when ■■■■ new Albanian regiments joined. The object for taking Konfodah, which he assigns to Mahomet Ali, was, "*de tenter une expédition sur l'Yémen, afin d'opérer une diversion.*"

four days, but set forward again from thence ■■■ southward, being destined for the siege of Confûta, in the neighbourhood of which we landed.

It is but a small village in itself, situated close down to the water's edge; but its principal point of strength consists in the appendage of a fort or castle, placed at one of its extremities, which, though constructed of mud only, and weak and crumbling in appearance, was yet solidly built, and calculated to make a ■■■ defence; it ■■■ also well garrisoned, for great numbers of Wahabees, driven out from other places, had ■■■ hither for refuge.

Upon ■■■ part, there ■■■■ cantonments of soldiery scattered about in the neighbourhood, ■ the number of nearly two thousand, who were to keep the place in

check till that expected reinforcement, of which we made ■ part, should arrive, and give them strength sufficient to carry it by assault. They had, however, previous to ■ arrival, succeeded in crippling and annoying the enemy materially, by the capture of ten small vessels belonging to them, made use of in obtaining supplies from places in their correspondence.

The besieged no ■ saw an additional force disembarked, than they determined at ■ their plan of defence; and seeing that it was impossible that the open village could hold out long against an attack, resolved ■ provision the castle to their utmost, and to ■ their hopes upon that; yet to defend themselves in their houses ■ long as they could, and not ■ shut themselves up ■ the last.

As in many other Arabian towns, there is ■ natural supply of water*; the nearest spring, which is that to which the inhabitants used ■ resort, being at the distance of three hours. The cisterns of the village had still a stock remaining in them, but there were ■ means of increasing ■ replenishing it.

The first care, therefore, of the Wahabees ■ to transport all this, and deposit it in ■ great reservoir within the castle, with a strict determination to put themselves on the lowest possible allowance, and

* "Konfodah est privé d'eau : la ■ où les habitants vont puiser celle dont ils se servent est à une lieue de distance."—vol. ii., p. 48. Mengin here understates the distance from the spring, and is not aware that any force at all had been stationed to protect it, but describes the loss ■ it, and the rout of the army, and panic ■ Konfodah, and the rush to the shipping, just as in ■ text.

drop of it that might be spared.

This precautionary measure was so expeditiously effected, that we finished before our numbers could be all drawn together and combined for the assault, though this was not delayed beyond the third day after our joining.

The Albanian Bey, whose name was Zaim Oglou, under whom I served, was first in command; and a very foremost and important post was assigned him in consequence, in the attack on the village, which he bravely and resolutely maintained against our whole force during several hours; but it was not tenable, and when he perceived that we were gaining ground, and had even got within footing within it, on a sudden signal all retreated

once into the castle, as had been arranged beforehand ; and we, being left of all the rest, turned our whole attention and efforts to dislodging them from thence, which promised to be no very easy matter : for though we took all advantages of ground, and brought all our into full play, yet the whole fabric being of earth, or of unbaked brick, the balls only sunk into the walls and bastions, without further destroying them ; and when, by order of our Bey-commandant, approached for an assault, those within found of directing a fire upon us, from their matchlocks and small field-pieces, through loop-holes scarcely perceptible, so to do great execution amongst us, without our being able to do smallest upon them in return ; that,

after two days spent in such attempts, all became dispirited, and ■■■ received orders to throw up works about the fortress, so ■■■ completely to blockade it, and starve the besieged ■■■ a surrender.

They themselves, however, brought the matter to a much speedier issue; for ■■■ the very day following (being the fourth), whether already become desperate from the actual want of provisions, or only ■■■ the near prospect of it (for little else ■■■ found in store besides the water), or whether they thought that they could perceive us to be off ■■■ guard at the ■■■ ment, they determined on attempting a ■■■ tie, before our works should be completed round them.

It ■■■ fortunate that ■■■ gave way to them in the first instant, and let them

force ■ passage ; for ■ not only got them thus between two fires (there being another detachment of our own beyond us), but were enabled also to secure the gate before it ■ closed after them, and so got possession of the castle.

But the resistance did not end here ; for those who could expect no quarter, were resolved at least to sell their lives dearly ; and from the smallness of the space, and closeness of contact among the parties, the savage ■ of carnage became dreadful in the interior ; not only the swords and knives, but ■ the very teeth and nails, of the combatants being made ■ of in their fury. Several of ■ soldiers ■ killed, ■ rather torn to pieces, in this horrid ■ counter ; and not one found there upon the other side ■ left alive, though their ■ ber ■ very considerable.

A small portion of the best judging amongst them, ■■■■ that the project of holding out long ■■■■ but a vain boast, had found means of withdrawing themselves secretly by the water-gate, during the very first night after they had taken refuge within the castle, and were all that escaped, whether of the garrison or population of the place.

But our Bey, blood-thirsty by disposition, and now exasperated, determined that not a single Wahabee should survive within his reach, and published, therefore, ■■■■ reward of two hundred piastres* for

* At a somewhat later period of the ■■■■ Mengin says, vol. ii., p. 121, " Ibrahim (Pasha) faisoit payer par son trésorier 50 piastres pour une tête, ou deux oreilles." Mahomet Ali had pursued a different course, for he " envoyait aussi des reconnaissances, en recommandant ■■■■ ■■■■ de n'attaquer jamais, et de ne ■■■■ faire périr ■■■■ prisonniers."—vol. ii., ■■■■ 19.

every ■ ■ head of one that should be brought ■ him by his troops ; upon which the Albanians, who ■ naturally greedy, went about in every direction to reap their bloody harvest. It ■ in vain for the younger, among the seized ■ ■ peeted, to hope or plead for any mercy ; but those more advanced, who were found lurking in their miserable huts, had their lives spared at the expense of their ears, which ■ ■ a sort of compromise between avarice and compassion ; and violences of this description were carried on for several days, until prohibited ■ last by authority.

It had been determined that Confûta should be maintained ■ ■ military post, and a garrison established there, which was divided into three portions : one occupying the castle, ■ ■ quartered in the village,

and the third in cantonments, for escorting provisions and supplies, that would be necessary from time to time; the three different services being appointed to be taken by turns.

Much water, from that reservoir which had been filled with ■ much care, ■ expended in the mere cleansing and purifying of a scene of so much bloodshed, and the remainder ■ so little husbanded ■ first, that it ■ failed entirely, and ■ could be had within ■ distance of less than three hours, besides the irksomeness of conveying it ■ far over ■ desert of loose sand.

The spring in question, however, ■ become a point of great importance, and since it ■ feared that it might be poisoned by the enemy, (whom we knew to be

scattered about, and ■■■ rather increasing in numbers in that direction,) ■ fixed guard ■■ stationed there of two hundred men, who might protect it, and keep them in check; and the force appearing insufficient, it ■■■ augmented soon afterwards by almost an equal body of cavalry, who were sent from Mecca, but ■ much harassed by the journey and climate, that they were in no condition to be of much use, should any strong effort be made.

I had been myself at first included among those quartered in the village, but my turn ■■■ to be one of the water-guard, just before this inefficient reinforcement arrived.

The very morning after which, ■■ heard, ■■■ after daybreak, that the Wahabees, who had been collecting previously

in great force, at about seven miles distance, advancing upon us, aware, no doubt, of the unserviceable condition of the comers, and determined, therefore, allow them time for becoming formidable.

We ourselves, equally sensible of this disadvantage, and of our inadequacy to the contest in a numerical point of view, off to express to ask for additional strength from the castle; but the time required for the journey of the messenger, and for the ordering and march of the troops sent off to assistance, was so considerable, that we were constrained to to action before they could reach

When the enemy got in sight, they seemed shy at first, and continued skirmishing at a short distance, as if to ascer-

tain the real condition of force ; but it must have been soon plain to all how much we were outnumbered, they began their attack.

Our cavalry, unfit for action it was, could do but little, and sooner was it hotly pressed, than it gave way and took to flight ; but the two hundred infantry, nevertheless, stood their ground manfully, in the expectation of being momentarily relieved, reinforced ; but after near three-fourths of them had been killed, the small remainder at last compelled fly, the Wahabees pursuing and cutting them down, so that very few of them indeed made good their retreat.

Yet although the issue of their obstinate protracted resistance was, it proved, so disastrous, it had, in point of fact, given

ample time for those sent to ■■■ succour from Confûta to have arrived, had nothing intervened ■■ deter them; for they ■■■ not only on their march, but actually near us, when the mounted fugitives most unfortunately met them, and representing all ■■ already lost, and their pursuers close at hand, by their confused and terrified accounts spread such a panic, that the whole body ■■ once turned back again, and joined them in their flight, carrying with them into the garrison the contagion of the ■■■■ blind apprehensions, which had such ■■ effect there, that all, conceiving the exaggerated numbers to be quite irresistible, and dreading above ■■ things to be shut up ■■■ that water was cut off from them, with ■■■ impulse made a rush towards the shipping, that they might secure themselves, and escape by sea.

For my part, I had been one of those foot soldiers who had maintained the combat, near the spring, as long as there was any chance to make head with me, and, when the complete rout began, was endeavouring to escape, with a few more, as well as I could; but in the precipitation of flight I lost my shoes in the loose sand, the scorching heat of which soon blistered the soles of my feet to that degree, that I was unable to proceed at all, and was actually flinging myself down in despair, with no other resolution but to die, when by chance one of our cavalry troop passed very close to me—one of those doubtless who in the first hurry of the flight were gone wide of the track, and had just recovered the track of his companions.

His speed was as great as he pro-

bably wished it, for the horse was jaded, yet the sight gave me courage, and I collected strength enough to follow after, though I was not able to leap up behind, so that I caught fast hold first of the stirrup, and afterwards of the tail; but the soldier either in his haste mistaking me for an enemy, or thinking that I impeded his escape, turned round, and fired. I had no breath for entreaty, so I only stooped and evaded the bullet, without quitting my grasp; which still served to pull me along. Yet in my rage I had contrived to snatch out my pistol, and both fired and flung it at him, though quite without effect. I was thus hurried and dragged along for a great many hundred yards, and the incident had certainly the effect of saving my life, for it gave a new turn to my spirits and energies,

and I found myself ■ ■ once also (though still distant) in sight of Confûta, and with difficulty persevered in crawling thither.

All appeared in the utmost confusion, both in the castle and the village, the vessels already swarming with troops, and others wading to them eagerly, or hurrying down with bundles and luggage. There was nobody in ■ state to be inquired of, or to ■ me, so I got ■ the beach, and there, not knowing what else to do, or which way to turn, followed the example of the rest, and threw my clothes off that I might swim on board.

Our commandant's bloody edict had been revoked ■ time, ■ that a considerable number of prisoners had been brought in of late, or sent to us from other places, who were embarked on board some

became evident ■■■ the delay in ■■■ advance (for it ■■■ not till the day following that of ■■■ defeat) had been employed to great purpose in augmenting their numbers; for they were now really become such ■ quite to overwhelm, what might be ■■■ sidered, comparatively, ■ ■■■ handful opposed to them, so that there was ■ great loss upon our side; and the remainder, after exploding our powder magazine, were driven ■ take refuge again ■ board, whilst the enemy repossessed themselves of Confûta,

Upon embarkation, it had been intended that ■■■ little fleet should continue hovering ■■■ the spot, that we might take advantage of the very first opportunity for driving them out, since their provisions ■■■ ■■■ likely to suffice for ■ large perma-

ment garrison; but ■ well directed fire from both their ■■■■■ and muskets made it quite impossible for us to lie close into shore in that neighbourhood, ■ to have effected any landing, had ■ wished it. We were therefore ordered to remove ■ Lid, another town or village with ■ castle attached to it, situated about an hour from the coast, and in our possession; we sailed therefore for the nearest point, and there landing, marched for our new quar- ■■■■ accordingly, where we found ourselves without any settled plan for ulterior operations.

Our ■■■■■ must have been a cruel disappointment to Mahomet Ali*; and he

* Mengin, vol. ii., p. 18. "Le viceroi étoit consterné lorsqu'il connut ce désastre. ■■■■ effet cette déroute et la défaite de Tarabé qui se suivirent presque dans le même tems, étoient accablantes pour lui." ■ will ■ seen, ■

who had himself so much the art only of commanding success, but of securing profit by it when obtained, might well reproach both leaders and in this instance as unworthy of all military confidence.

The extreme imprudence of the Bey much blamed, amongst other things, in having suffered great part of the troops to remain panic-struck on board, and in having led a detachment only, against the full force of the enemy; but in this, it be admitted that should still have been inferior to them notwithstanding, and that it essential leave some in charge of the shipping and the prisoners.

the narrative of our author, that about three months or more must have intervened between the defeat Confits, and that at Taraba.

Discussions of this sort took place even among the soldiers themselves, who, murmuring, and becoming discontented with their leader in whom they had confidence, it was only by the fear of throwing every thing into disorder, and by the difficulty of traversing a country unknown to most of them, that they were induced to remain quietly where they were.

Meantime it being necessary that the Bey himself should send official intelligence, he took the precaution to give his despatches to such officers as he thought most implicated in the disaster, that they might represent the matter in a favourable & light as it would bear.




Four were the number thus selected to be sent to Mecca, who all supposed

also to have interest and good friends ■ court.

As they ■■ setting off, it ■■ curious sight to ■■ how the soldiers thronged round them, every ■■ begging to be well reported at head-quarters, and pouring out his individual professions of good conduct and intrepid courage.

They could not be repressed or silenced, for the spirit of insubordination ■■ already amongst them, and soon increased ■■ much, that several bodies of troops chose out spots for themselves, and encamped quite apart, waiting, ■■ they gave out, till they should have ■ new commander set ■■ them.

And here, as I close this chapter, I trust that the details which I give of this ■■

will not be deemed too minute, when the reader recollects that I am not attempting to give any general picture of it, but only of such facts and circumstances  fell within my  observation, and form incidents in my  life.

■■■■■ V.

Desertion—Thirst and sufferings—Mecca—The Kaaba—Pilgrims—Ceremonies—Vale of Arafat—Sacrifice—Interview with Mahomet Ali—Journey to Taifa—Djibbel Kara—Tossoon Pasha defeated ■ Taraba—His Camp at Ciulla—Barusce—Ill ■■■ and retreat—Two Wahabee Chiefs taken, and executed—The enemy combine — ■■■ Ali expected in the Camp.

TOWARDS the end of the last chapter I spoke of the departure of the four officers, sent from Lid to Mahomet Ali Pasha, and of the state of anxious suspense in which the troops there were waiting, to know what could be done, and who would be ■■■ them.

As to their present condition, there was no sort of order ■ discipline amongst

them, and the continual annoyance which they exposed to from the enemy made their existence both uncomfortable and precarious, that I heartily wished myself with any other portion of the army. Not a day passed without being more less engaged with the Wahabees, who were collected about in great numbers, so as in a manner to surround our position, which not in itself a very strong one.

With respect to cavalry we had none, for, when fled from Confûta, they all left us, and made their escape by land, so of them, nor even knew where they were, but supposed them Mecca.

We were suffering cruelly from the want of provisions, of water especially, so doubly

necessary in that parched and burning climate. The wells were at a great distance from us, and could not be approached without the utmost risk ; but what was yet worse, they were rendered disgusting and unwholesome by the number of bodies of dead comrades, which the enemy had thrown into them for the purpose.

There was no remedy for this evil, for we could neither discover other springs as a substitute, nor so purify them as to make them tolerably potable ; and among the soldiers nauseated such a beverage to that degree, that they preferred to die for want rather than continue it.

A great many deserted : so many, that the ranks were very materially thinned, and especially of the corps which I myself belonged to.

Nay, in a state of much misery, I began to envy those who had taken that course, and even preparing to follow their example: not that the step, on my part at least, had the character of complete desertion, since I intended to join the main body of the army.

I took care, therefore, to provide what I thought I should stand in need of, and especially a skin, which might contain water for me in my flight.

If ever there was a resolution conceived and acted upon in despair, it was this; for I was to set out alone, a foreigner in an enemy's country, with which I was unacquainted, in a torrid climate, and very poorly supplied with the necessities of life; but at the time of lifting my wallet and water-skin on my shoulder,

I thought of nothing but the condition of wretchedness that I was escaping from.

Knowing nothing of the way, I thought of searching for the track * of the cavalry, who had withdrawn from Confûta, and followed that, when I had once found it, in the hope that it might lead me to Mecca, which was the point that I had fixed upon.

Often and often as I toiled along, through all the sufferings, and privations and terrors of that miserable journey, did

* When the sand of the desert is not very loose, it will retain the print of whatever passes over it for a very long while; in my own journey to Mount Sinai, in August, 1815, I was astonished to see tracks of wheels some part of the way to Suez, and could not account for the appearance, I was informed at Cairo, that the principal persons in the harem of the Sultan had returned by the same way in European carriages three months before.

■ feel that life ■ not worth preserving ■ such ■ price, and that mine ■ become no better than a burthen to me.

At other times ■ could still contrive to cheer myself, in looking to better days, and felt a longing desire for Italy, which had hardly been so present to me ■ now since I first left it; for my imagination even went so far as to call up the image, and the very voices of my father and ■ ther to me, and of ■ my ■ connexions, and so threw me again into a fresh train of sorrow.

It ■ thus that my days and nights passed, ■ I proceeded upon a track to which ■ an utter stranger, through a region that was destitute of every thing.

In the mean time, the supply of water

which I had taken with me ■■■ exhausted, and though I met with wells every ■■■ and then, from whence I could have drawn some, yet, upon approaching, I always found the ■■■ pestilential smell, and the ■■■ loathsome spectacle of the ■■■ cases of soldiers thrown in by the Wahabees.

Driven, however, by thirst ■ last quite to desperation, I arrived ■ evening at the brink of ■ well so deep, that its contents were far beyond my reach, and for this ■■■ perhaps it had not been thought worth while to taint its waters.

I took the expedient of forming a rope out of my sash and turban, and of ■ my clothes, even to my very shirt, which I stripped off for the purpose, and attaching the water skin to this, I let it down into

the well, and, in the space of about two hours, succeeded in filling it.

My thirst thus allayed, but the quenching it only brought me a violent paroxysm of hunger, which, all my provisions at an end, I had not the means of satisfying.

It was now night, and the country in every direction a desert; so that there appeared no hope of my being able to save my life excepting by a forced march; accordingly I pressed forwards all night long, and, just at the dawn of day, I could perceive that upon some heights near me there were fires burning.

I hesitated at first in the thought of going up to them, but, starving as I was, to persist in going forward, only to

proceed to certain death, and making my choice between the two perils, I determined ■ turn aside to them at ■ risks, ■ though those heights should be ■ position of the enemy.

Fortune favoured me in this instance, and I found myself in ■ far better situation than I had any right ■ ■ to have expected.

For those who were lighting their fires there ■ ■ company of Bedouin Arabs, ■ race not generally very friendly, it is true, ■ the Egyptian soldiery*, having suffered

* Mengin speaks frequently of the hostility of ■ Bedouins, especially vol. ii., p. 19, and ■ pains taken to conciliate them; but vol. ii., p. 143, assigns ■ much baser motive for their being brought over to a more pacified disposition; "For ■ ■ présents furent prodigués aux chefs de tribus, qui ne respiraient que de la vengeance."

much during the war from the loss of cattle and property, and the greater part of them originally rather in the interest of the Wahabees than in ours; yet I threw myself ~~on~~ their hospitality, and they, ~~know~~ing that I ~~was~~ in want, and ready to sink, without inquiring further, did ~~me~~ a thousand kind offices, and proceeded afterwards in the course of conversation to tell me, that they were quite weary of the disordered state of the country, and that the Pasha of Egypt, as the only person who could put an end to it, had their best wishes.

This ~~was~~ ~~an~~ encouraging, that I thought I might trust them further, and accordingly made it no secret that my object ~~was~~ to proceed to Mecca. Upon which they ~~asked~~ me ~~to~~ continue in their company

■ ■ ■ a spot which was their own destination, within four hours of the city.

They shewed ■■ every possible mark of kindness and friendly feeling, and supplied ■■ with all the refreshments that ■ could want, making bread, and drawing milk, on purpose for me; and not only so, but mounted ■■ one of their ■■ camels, which appeared a great luxury, after the toilsome march that I had hitherto made on foot.

In this ■■■■ ■■ got the next day to the place which they had fixed for their halt, and there parting from them with the kiss of peace, and taking again to my feet, after a march of about four hours, I reached Mecca, which I had so long and ardently been desirous of seeing.

Exulting in my escape, my mind ■■ in

a state ■ receive very strong impressions, and I ■ much struck with all that I saw upon entering the city: for though it is neither large, nor beautiful in itself, there is something in it that is calculated to impress ■ sort of awe, and it ■ the hour of noon, when every thing is very silent, except the Muezzims calling from the minarets.

The reader will perhaps forgive me if ■ pause a moment here in my narrative, to give ■ account, however imperfect, of such objects ■ particularly took my attention.

The principal feature of the city is that celebrated sacred inclosure which ■ placed about the centre of it; it is ■ vast paved court, with doorways opening into it from every side, and with ■ covered colonnade,

carried round the cloister, while in the midst of the open space stands the edifice, called the Kaaba, whose walls are covered entirely over the outside with hangings of black velvet *, on which there are Arabic inscriptions embroidered in gold.

Facing one of its angles (for this little edifice is of a square form†) there is a well which is called the well Zemzem, of which the water is considered to be so peculiarly holy, that some of it is even sent annually to the Sultan at Constantinople; and no person who comes to Mecca, whether on pilgrimage, or for more worldly consi-

* Black cloth, according to Ali Bey, and I believe he is correct.

† Ali Bey, who took a rough admeasurement, says that it is not a correct square, no two sides corresponding exactly.

derations, ever fails both to drink of it, and to [REDACTED] it in his ablutions*, since it is supposed to wipe out the stain of all past transgressions.

There is a stone also [REDACTED] the bottom of the building itself †, which all the visitants kiss [REDACTED] they pass round it, and the multitude of them has been so prodigious [REDACTED] to have worn the surface quite away.

Quite detached, but fronting to the Kaaba, stand four pavilions, (corresponding to the four sects of the Mahometan religion,) adapted for the pilgrims: and though the [REDACTED] had of late years been from time to time much interrupted, there arrived, just when [REDACTED] came to Mecca,

* [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Bey's account [REDACTED] the immense quantity of water-vessels kept for its distribution, p. 82.

† There is a print in his works of the Black Stone, which is that here spoken of.

two of them, one Asiatic, and from the African side, the together amounting to not than about forty thousand persons, who all seemed be full of towards the holy place*.

influx of strangers, added the garrison kept there by our Pasha, (which in itself pretty numerous,) tended prodigiously to throng this little Arabian city; and its accommodations becoming quite insufficient to lodge a multitude much exceeding the usual average, the greater part passed the night outside walls in tents, huts, the bare ground; and during the day time resorted in crowds the place of devotion.

There also of course an extraordi-

* Mr. Bay says that in 1807 there were 80,000 men went to Arafat, 2000 women, and 1000 children.—vol. ii. p. 52.

nary [redacted] for all sorts of provisions and necessaries, which [redacted] in consequence sold [redacted] the [redacted] extravagant prices* ; but this seemed [redacted] diminish nothing of the fervour and zeal of the visitants, [redacted] at all [redacted] shorten their stay.

Over and above the general ceremonies of the purification at the well, and of the kissing of the corner-stone, and of the walking round the Kaaba [redacted] certain number of times in a devout manner†, every [redacted] has also [redacted] own separate prayer [redacted] put up, and so [redacted] fulfil the conditions of [redacted] vow, and the objects of his particular pilgrimage‡.

* Ali Bey, vol. ii., p. 97.—All the provisions are dear, except meat.

† Seven times, according to Ali Bey, and [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] seventh tour.—vol. ii., p. [redacted]

‡ Ali Bey pretends to have made and observed a

Both within and without the circuit of the sacred inclosure, there is an immense quantity of pigeons, which are considered in under the special protection of the Prophet, and consequently no person presumes to kill or to molest them; but many bring with them, from the most distant countries, some small quantity of grain, with which they may take the opportunity of feeding these birds *.

Now that we are speaking of the superstitions and ceremonies of the place, I would mention that all the observances are by no means completed within the city.

particular vow of chastity, from the very moment of setting out upon their journey in Morocco, which I conceive to be very unusual.

* Ali Bey, vol. ii., p. 117.—The number of pigeons is immense; they belong to no particular person, but fly freely about, and build their nests upon the roofs of houses and holes in the walls.

For the pilgrims, after having performed their devotions for a certain time ■ the Kaaba, ■ last in ■ sort of procession ■ to ■ place called Arafat, ■ eminence which stands detached in the centre of ■ valley ; and in the way thither there is a part of the road, for about the space of ■ mile, where it is customary to run—a practice for which I could not learn any better reason ■ than that ancient tradition and usage have made it essential *.

The road also passes near a spot where was formerly a well, which is superstitiously supposed to be something unholy, and cursed by the prophet himself ; and, for this reason, every pilgrim ■ he goes by it, throws a stone ; and the custom ■

* From Ali Bey's account, it should seem that ■ running was in the return from Arafat, directly after sunset.—vol. ii., p. 70.

■ universal, and has prevailed so long, that ■ ■ ■ now be picked up in the neighbourhood, and it is necessary, therefore, to provide them from a distance ; and ■ ■ ■ persons ■ ■ ■ bring them out of their own remote countries, thinking thereby ■ gain the greater favour in the sight ■ heaven*.

Beyond this point stands ■ column†, which is ■ up as the extreme limit of the pilgrimage, and ■ every pilgrim must have passed before sunrise. While all sup- ■ have not gone beyond it by that

* Ali Bey mentions, in his road to Aïfat, a fountain at Mina), in front of which is an ancient edifice, said to have been built by the devil ; each pilgrim threw seven pebbles, the size of peas, picked up the night before at Moedelife.—p. 71.

† Ali Bey calls it a little stone pillar, about six feet high and two square, considered a work of the devil.—vol. ii., p. ■

time must wait ■■■ the ■■■ year, if they wish to be entitled to the consideration and privileges of complete Hadjees, since, without this circumstance, all the ■■■ remains imperfect.

The hill of Arafat lying ■ ■ distance of no less than seven hours from Mecca, it is necessary to set out very early, in order to be there in time; many of the pilgrims, and especially the ■■■ devout amongst them, performing all the way on foot.

When they have reached the place, ■■■ who have any money, according to their ■■■ sacrifice one or more sheep; and the rich often furnish ■■■ who are poor and destitute with the ■■■ of buying one.

■■■ a quantity of ■■■ quite fine

the whole open space with victims, and the poor flock from all the country round, have meat distributed ■ them.

After which, at the conclusion of the whole ceremony, all the names ■ registered by ■ scribe, appointed for the purpose; and when this is finished, the African ■ and Asiatic ■ part company, and return to their ■ several countries: many detachments of the pilgrims visiting Medina in the way.

The reader will, it is hoped, pardon this digression, since I was present myself ■ all that I describe, and have thought that some slight notice of the course pursued in this famous pilgrimage would not appear to be out of place.

I ■ to my own particular adventures: and what I ■ have to mention

is, that I had been in Mecca but a very few days, when I expressed to a friend, whom I found there, that I had a strong desire to speak with Mahomet Ali Pasha, and to tell him that I was one of those who had survived and escaped from the disasters of Confûta; that I came to throw myself under his protection, and to beg to be enrolled in some division of his army.

There was, however, much difficulty in obtaining personal access to him, that I determined on adopting the mode which had been sometimes previously resorted to with success: that is to say, having got a memorial written for me in the Turkish language, I took it in my hand, and stood, holding it up directly facing one of the windows of the house which the Pasha

occupied *, hoping that, as he sometimes looked out that way, he might see me, and call me to him.

The house in question joined on to the inclosure of the great Temple, and one of the windows looking into the court, it was opposite to that particular spot where I posted myself with my paper. It was not, however, until after I had stood in this position during the greater part of six days, that I at last succeeded in catching the Pasha's eye ; who looked for me, and read the memorial † ; upon which he entered into

* This is a common custom at Constantinople ; it is known that the Sultan appears in public, and that such petitioners may be seen with their paper held above their head, which is sent for as soon as it attracts the observation of the sovereign.

† It is said that he has been taught both writing and reading since he acquired the sovereignty of Egypt.

the greatest rage imaginable; for, as it appeared, he had been informed but very imperfectly (so cautious had been the language of the despatches, and of the official ■ charged with them) of the failure and disasters ■ Confûta, and desired me ■ give him, for the first time, a detailed account of them.

He listened to me with the most patient attention, throwing in very acute questions every ■ and then; and when I proceeded ■ state my own destitute condition, he said that I ought to have gone on ■ once to Taif*, where ■ should have found

* Taif had been taken possession of a good while before by Mustapha Bey and Tussoon Pasha—*Mengin*, vol. i. p. 400; and afterwards was made the grand dépôt for ■ army, and five thousand infantry, one thousand horse, and six pieces of artillery stationed there under Tussoon.—vol. ii. p. 10.

other regiments, in which I might have been enrolled : and upon this he gave [REDACTED] five hundred piasters to supply my immediate wants, and the expenses of the journey, and ordered [REDACTED] to set out without fail [REDACTED] the very next day, charging me strictly, at the same time, to tell [REDACTED] [REDACTED] in the interim how it came about that I was at Mecca, since it [REDACTED] of importance that no reverse or check should become generally talked of.

Having provided myself with what would be necessary, I set out, and, after a journey of several days, reached Taif, the place of my destination.

Before I take up my story at Taif, I will return to Mecca [REDACTED] [REDACTED] for a moment, to add some singular particulars which escaped [REDACTED] in my account of it, and

I would also say something of my journey from Mecca to Taif.

Many of the pilgrims go through the ceremony of making the entire circuit of the city upon the outside, and the order in which this is performed is as follows* :— The devotee first goes without the gates, and, after presenting himself there to the religious officer who presides, throws off all his clothes, and takes a sort of large wrapping garment in lieu of them to cover himself; upon which he sets off, walking at a very quick pace, or rather running, to

* The scene of this running of the pilgrims seems to be somewhat differently laid by Ali Bey, who says, "these being completed, there are a number of barbers in waiting to shave the pilgrims' heads, which they do very quickly." But he says that, in their time of shaving, some alteration was made by the Wahabees at that time in authority, and therefore probably at that place.

reach the nearest of the four corners of the city, a sort of guide going with him at the same rate all the way, who prompts certain ejaculations or prayers which he ought to make at particular spots as he passes; at every angle he finds a barber, who, with wonderful quickness, wets and shaves a quarter of his head: and so on, till he has reached the barber at the fourth angle, who completes the work. After which the pilgrim takes his clothes again, and has finished that act of devotion.

There is also near the holy city, an eminence called the Mountain of Light*, as I

* A view is given in Ali Bey, vol. ii. plate 48, of Djebbel Nor, the Mountain of Light, but he could not visit it, it being specially prohibited by the Wahabees as a superstition. It was on this mountain that the angel Gabriel brought the first chapter of the Koran to the Prophet.

imagine, from its remarkable whiteness. Upon this the pilgrims have a custom of leaping, while they repeat, at the same time, prayers and verses of the Koran. Many also resort to a lesser hill, about a mile distant from the city, on which there is a small mosque, which is reputed to be a place of great sanctity.

An annual ceremony takes place in the great temple itself, which is worth mentioning before I quit the subject altogether.

I have already spoken of the little square building, whose walls are covered with hangings of black and gold, and which is called the Kaaba. Once in the year, and only, this holy of holies is opened *,

* Sometimes open three days, according to Ali Bey, (*Mengin*, vol. ii. p. 53,) who enters into it, and says some thing of the supposed conditions annexed.

and as there is then nothing to prevent admission, it appears surprising ■ first ■ ■ ■ few who ■ willing to go into the interior, and especially since this act is supposed to have great efficacy in the remission of all past sins. But the ■ ■ ■ be sought for in the conditions which are annexed, since he who enters is, in the first place, bound to exercise no gainful trade ■ pursuit, ■ to work for his livelihood in any way whatever; and next he must submit patiently to all offences and injuries, and must ■ again touch any thing that is impure or unholy.

Since it is not easy to find in the ■ person sufficient competence, with sufficient forbearance at the same time, and self-denial to ■ these conditions, the number who enter the Kaaba ■ very

limited. Those who are disposed to smile at such superstitions, may recollect, that the conditions under which a novice enters upon any of the monastic orders in Italy differ little from these, except in being stricter and more binding; yet what numbers are always ready to profess in them! Is this from a greater indifference there to the pleasures of this life, or from a more assured confidence in the reward, or from a more lax interpretation and observance of the vow? I have not myself been enough of European monasteries to be able to answer this question.

One more remark, with reference to the great scene of sacrifice at Arafat:—Though the Pasha's power in Arabia had been for some time established, yet it was not complete or universal, by any means,—the

Wahabees still retaining, upon many sides, a very considerable footing, ■ that open and unprotected places, ■ within half a day's journey of Mecca, might be liable ■ surprise and violence.

This rendered both the resort to Arafat, and the ceremonies there, ■ matter of ■ hazard, and the more so, since the enemy knew perfectly well, that if they should ■ on the pilgrims during these religious rites, they would find them not only unarmed, but even bound also by their law to ■ ploy no violence in their defence.

For these ■ the Pasha had judged it necessary, upon this occasion, to send a sufficient force to surround the district upon all sides*, ■ ■ to cover it completely

* In 1807, ■ seem ■ have taken the ■ precaution.—See Ali Bey, vol. ii, p. ■

from all risk of attack, and it is owing, perhaps, to that precaution that such prodigious multitudes both went and returned without molestation ■■ insult.

I will now say ■ few words respecting my journey to Taif*, which I made in ■ party of soldiers sent to escort ■ supply of provisions for that garrison.

In the way, it is necessary to pass over ■ ridge of mountains called Djibbel Kara, ■■ of the highest that I have ever seen †; but the heat, which is intense at that ■■ of the year, was such, that ■■ attempt ■■ made ■■ ■■ part until after sun-set,

■ Mengin writes Tayef, ■■ Bey, Taif, and says that it is included in the province of Hedjaz, but not in the Beled el Haran, ■ Holy Land.—vol. ii., p. 125.

† The highest mountains, AlijBey says, are those of Medina, and Taif, which towns ■■ situated upon ■ bountiful land, with plenty of water, and covered ■■ gardens and plantations.—vol. ii., p. 126.

to begin the ascent, though become comparatively easy of late ; for till the last ■■■■ paign this mountain had been only passable for men on foot, the broken ground and the precipices being such that beasts of burthen could not climb over them ; but Mahomet Ali had, in his enlarged views, ordered a practicable road to be made, which ■■■■ now completed, ■■■■ that we went over conveniently enough, both ■■■■ horses and camels.

The nights in those countries not being so thick and dark ■■■■ in ■■■■ northern climates, the traveller can pretty clearly distinguish all the objects upon his road.

Yet, notwithstanding, ■■■■ had the precaution of ■■■■ guide who led the way, carrying a light in his hand, which ■■■■ of little other use than as a signal for keeping ■■■■ together.

Seated comfortably, meanwhile, upon my camel, ■ our progress upwards was but slow, I had ample opportunity for observing the nature and aspect of that mountain, which is mostly cultivated, ■ well as abounding with fruit trees; and among the singularities which it presents is a multitude of the ape or monkey tribe, which I had not seen or heard of in other parts of Arabia.

At daybreak, we already thought ourselves close upon the highest point, but yet employed two hours ■■■■ before ■ had fully attained it; and the heat having become by that time too great for ■ ■ ■■■■■ our descent on the other side, we dismounted, and lay under ■■■■ trees upon the flat table-land which forms the

summit, ■■■■ cool springs of ■■■■ which ■■■■ found there in abundance, ■■■■ from whence we could ■■■■ the Red ■■■■ very plainly, which appeared, from ■■■■ great elevation, ■■■■ if close below, though in reality at the distance of three days' journey.

Not setting forward again till about sun-set, it ■■■■ just dawn when we got the first view of Taif, which ■■■■ delightful and refreshing to us all; for, though very small in itself, it is so surrounded with gardens, and with odoriferous plants, that the air is quite perfumed ■■■■ a very ■■■■ siderable distance*.

* Tâïef (says Mengin in a note) est une assez belle ville située au pied de la montagne de Khîra; son territoire est fertile; c'est le jardin de la Mekke, dont elle n'est éloignée que de deux journées.—vol. ii., p. 11.

The sun had only risen about three hours, when ■ reached the village, and ■ closer inspection did not destroy the predilection which I felt for its situation. I ■ found out ■ officer of my acquaintance who ■ in an inferior command there, who proposing to me that I should attach myself to his regiment, I willingly consented, and thus became actually enrolled among his men on the first day after my arrival.

Two months, however, passed away here quite without incident, till ■ the end of that time, in consequence of orders from head-quarters, the remains of the routed army of Confûta and Lid ■ to join us, and it ■ a great joy to me to meet again with my old companions.

My former commandant*, who ■■■ supposed me dead, was very much rejoiced to find himself mistaken, and ordered my pay to be allowed to ■■■ for all the time that I had been absent, and insisted upon my returning under his command; ■■■ that for ■ time I ■■■ receiving double pay, one from the garrison of Taif, and the other as belonging to my old regiment.

Things, however, continued in this state only for ■ very short time, owing to fresh orders received from Mahomet Ali Pasha, that ■■■ should proceed to Ciulla †, which ■■■ did in less than ■ week afterwards.

* I do not know whether Zain Oglou is meant here or some inferior officer. Zain was, according to Mengin, after a time, in spite of his disgraceful discomfiture, reinstated ■■■ the government of Djidda.

† This is written Koulekh by Mengin, (vol. ii., p. 11,)

It is in itself ■ very small and poor village, consisting only of a few clay huts in the middle of the desert; but we found that Tossoon Pasha was encamped there, and had occupied that position for ■ considerable time: ■ became, therefore, incorporated in the large force under his command, and took ■ station in his camp.

He, as general-in-chief of this division of the army, had with him here about three thousand men, between infantry and ■ valry, and had suffered considerably in

who says that Tossoon was directed to ■ thither from Tayef by ■ father, for the purpose of attacking ■ Wahabees at Taraba, and after remaining at Koulakh "plusieurs jours" was obliged rather to precipitate his attempt, "voyant qu'il ne restait des vivres que pour ■ jours."

various encounters which he had had with the enemy, who had found intervals to annoy him upon every side.

So far, however, these from damping the ardour of the young mandar, that they only served to increase his eagerness for striking a decisive blow ; and for this the moment seemed to be arrived. For at this time the greater part of the force of the Wahabees was concentrated at Taraba, a village, with a castle, distant than two marches from Ciulla.

A woman, named Galia, commanded there in chief, who had acquired a great name, and, like the heroines of old romances, always led her troops on in person ; it also under her active directions

that they were doing all that they could to fortify themselves in Taraba *. Upon hearing which Tossoon Pasha, who was bent on dislodging them, removed his quarters, and took up a new position, in the hope of disturbing them ; but he found on arrival that their garrison had already thrown up a rampart, or wall, of earth and stones, pierced here and there with loops, through which they could fire on their assailants with great effect, and were exposed in return to very little hazard ; so that, in all the attempts on one part to annoy or surprise the enemy, he made little progress, and yet suffered very serious loss ; and, besides those killed

* Mengin calls ' Taraba,' " place très forte et par sa situation, et les travaux qu'il avait ordonnés."—vol. ii., p. 11.

round the fortifications, numbers also intercepted by skirmishing parties, they went for provisions and saries.

But the difficulty of getting water the most grievous misfortune of all, for there was in all that district, excepting what close under the very walls of Taraba*, and commanded by the ketry from the village; yet there being

* Mengin, vol. p. i. 405, speaking of Taraba, says, " Cette place étoit fortifiée; des champs de dattiers, environnés de fossés remplis d'eau, la couvraient deux lieues de circonférence. Dès que les soldats virent paraître l'ennemi, ils sortirent pour le combattre: une commandoit, c'étoit Ghâliah, femme du cheykh la tribu de Solayh. Cette brave Amazone attaqua la division de Moustapha Bey, la mit en fuite." attempt by Moustapha Bey, who back upon it to Egypt, for having been defeated by a prior to Tossoun's, and may therefore possibly have been about contemporary with other disasters at Confâta.—See the last note to Chapter iv., vol. i.

absolutely ■■■ alternative for us but to draw it there, we ■■■ daily buying it with our blood. It appeared, therefore, that we must either retreat again from ■■■ post, or do something decisive, and Tossoon's determination leaning, as usual, to the ■■■ daring side, after having in vain endeavoured to draw out the enemy, to try the chance of ■ battle, gave orders for ■ general assault*.

■ " Les vivres ayant manqué, il ordonna de couper les dattiers pour en manger la moëlle, et de prendre la ville d'assaut."—*Mengin*, vol. p. ii. 13. But he says nothing of ■■ actual attempt and failure of the assault, ■■ presents ■■ whole army retreating in the night, ■■ adds, " Lorsque ■■ Wahabye, commandés ■■ Fehéd Ebn-chakhân, furent instruits de ■■ retraite ils se mirent à la poursuite des Turcs. Le ■■ donna alors de brûler les tentes et les équipages. Vers ■■ matin, ils revenoient hardiment ■■ prirent deux pièces d'artillerie," and cut ■■ army ■■ pieces " jusqu'à son ■■ à Koulakh."

This was undertaken with infinite resolution on the part of his troops, but was sustained with equal firmness on the part of the besieged, who, perceiving that they had the advantage over us in point of numbers, after repelling us from their quarters, while the troops were yet in disorder, poured out in all their strength upon us, and put the whole expedition to the rout. The slaughter was dreadful ; and Torssoon, seeing no hope of saving anything from the camp which he had lately occupied, burned it in his retreat, and returned to his old position, the enemy pursuing all the way, and hanging upon the rear with such effect, that, upon our return at Cuilla, of about three thousand men who marched from thence on that expedi-

tion, more than five six hundred back*.

Here re-occupied portion of former ground, and, to prevent the hazard being driven out of it in present reduced state, began immediately to throw up works about it, the enemy continuing very us all the while, during which Tossoun Pasha had informed his father of his ill success and of his present condition, and, consequently, began very soon receive reinforcements sent from headquarters; who, dropping in day after day, the numbers at Cuilla became last again

* "Après sa retraite de Tarabé, Tossoun Pacha vint à Koulakh, où il demeura quelques jours; de-là il se rendit à Tayef. Dans rapport qu'il fit à son père lui annonçait que la disette des vivres avait la seule cause mauvais succès de l'expédition," &c.—*Mengin*, vol. ii., p. 16.

very considerable. Mahomet Ali had, however, determined that he would place himself at the head of the next expedition against Taraba, to take his revenge for the disgrace and losses which had been ■■■ tained there by his favourite son: but just ■■ the time when the great Pasha ■■■ expected day after day, I was myself ■■■ of a body of a thousand men ordered to march with the utmost expedition for Barusce, ■ pretty strong fort, standing at the distance of a day and a half from our ■■■ campment, and commanded ■■ that period by an Albanian officer, who ■■■ brother to Hassan Pasha.

This Bey had ■■■ word to Cuilla, that he found himself in a most critical situation, being but ■■ provisioned for ■■■ time past, and surrounded by the enemy

upon almost all sides, and that he should be constrained, if reinforcements and supplies were not sent him, to abandon the post, advantageous as it was, altogether. Upon which Tossoon Pasha sent off the detachment alluded to, consisting of five hundred cavalry, with an equal number of foot soldiers, of which last I sent one, and we began our march in the evening of the very day which the communication from Barusce received.

The next night we reached the base of a mountain, which it was necessary to pass in our way, and the men being much tired and exhausted from the toil of the march, owing to the very broken face of the country which we had traversed, we halted there, and messengers were sent forward to the Bey, both to inform him that we

■ got thus far, and ■ inquire in which direction ■ should make ■ way to him, to be of the most service, and clear away the Wababees the most from about him, so that ■ were waiting in that spot ■ the ■■■■■ for his reply.

But about midnight the Bey's little garrison were pressed so hard by the enemy that they were driven out, and compelled to get by flight to Taifa ■ they could; and ■ division of the ■■■■ force, which became master of Barusce, ■■■■ directed against ■ also before day, ■■ advance having been discovered, and our motions closely watched.

We ■■■■ very ill situated for such ■■ encounter, our position being both low with respect to the ground about it on every side, ■■■■ very closely hemmed in,

so that there was not space for our cavalry even to form itself ; nor could we retaliate with any effect upon those who were occupying the heights, and pouring down their shot upon us from all sides : and even we be killed or wounded in this manner not all, nor even the worst that we were exposed to, for such amongst us as fell alive into the hands of these cruel fanatics, were wantonly mutilated by the cutting off of their arms and legs, and left to perish in that state ; many of whom, in the course of our retreat, I myself actually saw, who had no greater favour to ask than that we would put them to death.

All night long these horrors continued, during which, however, we had contrived to escape considerably, and even

wholly dispersed or in disorder; ■ that, ■ daybreak, finding ourselves upon opener and more favourable ground, where the mounted part of our force could act, we halted and formed ourselves, and there debated what would be the best ■ to follow.

But the consultation did not last long, for it ■ agreed between the two commanders of our horse and foot that they should separate, and take different courses.

The cavalry accordingly parted from us, and took the way towards Taifa, in the hope of being able to fall in with the Bey, who had been discomfited ■ Barusce, ■ at least to cover his retreat from the enemy, ■ possible; and ■ ourselves marched ■ to recover the encampment which ■ had quitted ■ Ciulla.

I have before said that this road very mountainous; and our assailants in possession of the heights, they continually annoying with great effect.

However, it in favour that the passes which had to traverse rather expanded we advanced, so that we could observe some order in our retreat, and from time to time take up such positions favourable.

In this manner we kept up a sort of running fight with the enemy, that their pursuit of us, while it cost many lives, also very harassing to themselves, and not without considerable loss.

On one occasion, at length, finding ourselves on remarkably advantageous ground, resolved to turn suddenly upon them, and, by a brisk discharge of musketry, to

do what ■ could to revenge the blood of our comrades.

This united effort, being unexpected, took great effect, and did almost as much execution among ■ pursuers ■ they themselves had done upon ■ ranks from the very outset : yet they stood their ground very bravely ; and such ■ the impetuosity of their commanders, that the two chief amongst them came so forward, in calling on their men, as to be quite surrounded, and ■ all rushing instantly upon them in a body, had the good fortune ■ make both prisoners.

So ■ ■ they had lost their ■ manders, the spirit of the whole Arab force ■ broken ; and we, ■ ■ part, delighted ■ have made such a prize, pressed forwards with redoubled speed for Cuilla.

Had our body been large enough, and any cavalry still with us, we might have turned round, and marched back upon Barusce, in order to retake it; for the loss of their two leaders could do us less than weaken and dispirit those who had just got possession, and we might very probably have succeeded; but the smallness of our numbers, and the fatigued state of the men, added to the difficulties to be surmounted by the way, and, above all other considerations, our extreme impatience to present our general-in-chief with so fine a capture as the two Arabian chieftains, made us very impatient to get back.

It had now been daylight for some time, and though the distance that still remained before us was considerable, it was determined that we should proceed through

the heat, in order to arrive the sooner, being from thenceforward unmolested, nothing remarkable occurring to impede us, about noon, or after, reached our destination.

All the camp in a of repose, but approach excited a great sensation in it, and afterwards much disappointment, when it was first known how ill the enterprise had succeeded, so far Ba- concerned.

Our commander made his report Tossoun Pasha, informing him, in the first place, how the fort been lost before could reach it, and how the cavalry had taken the direction of Taifa, in the hope of falling in with Hassan Pasha's brother in flight, so either to enable him, by such a reinforcement, to return

upon Barusce, or, at least, to [REDACTED] his retreat. The officer finished his recital with an account of our own retreat, and presented to him, at the [REDACTED] time, the two distinguished captives.

At the first part of the intelligence Tossoon Pasha showed every sign of extreme vexation, but commended the [REDACTED] that had been taken by the cavalry, and expressed in the end a high degree of [REDACTED] tisfaction at the sight of the prisoners, whose heads he ordered to be publicly struck off, in return for the outrageous cruelties practised upon [REDACTED] comrades.

The spectacle of their execution [REDACTED] immediate and impressive, for the whole of [REDACTED] force was drawn out under arms; and the two victims were led out through the midst of us, during [REDACTED] great silence, the

eyes of all being fixed on them ■ they passed with the most eager curiosity; and we, who had been their captors and had personally suffered ■ much, seemed to see, ■ their heads rolled from their bodies, ■ sort of compensation for the disaster of Barusce, and the great losses of our detachment upon the road.

We remained stationary in this camp for ■ long space of time, without any other incident than continual annoyances from Wahabite parties, who suffered not a day ■ ■ without ■ attempt or skirmish, and often ■ upon us several times even during the ■ of the ■

There was, therefore, ■ absolute ■ sity for some decisive blow, not only for our present protection, but as the means also of disconcerting some very dangerous

combinations which were forming round us; for undoubted intelligence ■ received that ■ project of strict alliance and co-operation ■ ■ foot between the Arabs of Baruce and those of Taraba, who had hitherto acted separately and quite without concert; the project being to collect together between them ■ force amounting to several thousands, and, thus united, to ■ upon ■ camp.

Tossoon had lost no time in communicating this alarming fact to his father, and strongly urged upon him the expediency of giving early effect to his promise, in coming in person to take the command, to which ■ favourable ■ received; and ■ ■ as it became generally known that Mahomet Ali might certainly and shortly be expected, it seemed to give ■

spirits and new life to all the troops, for in active service he has always had the power, to a singular degree, both of commanding their confidence, and of engaging their affections towards him—results which are not less the effect of an open-handed generosity which he has always shown towards those in the army who deserve well of him (a quality that weighs the most, perhaps, of all others with the soldiery of the East) than of his career of uninterrupted success as a general.

I shall reserve the account of his arrival and operations for the succeeding chapter.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

